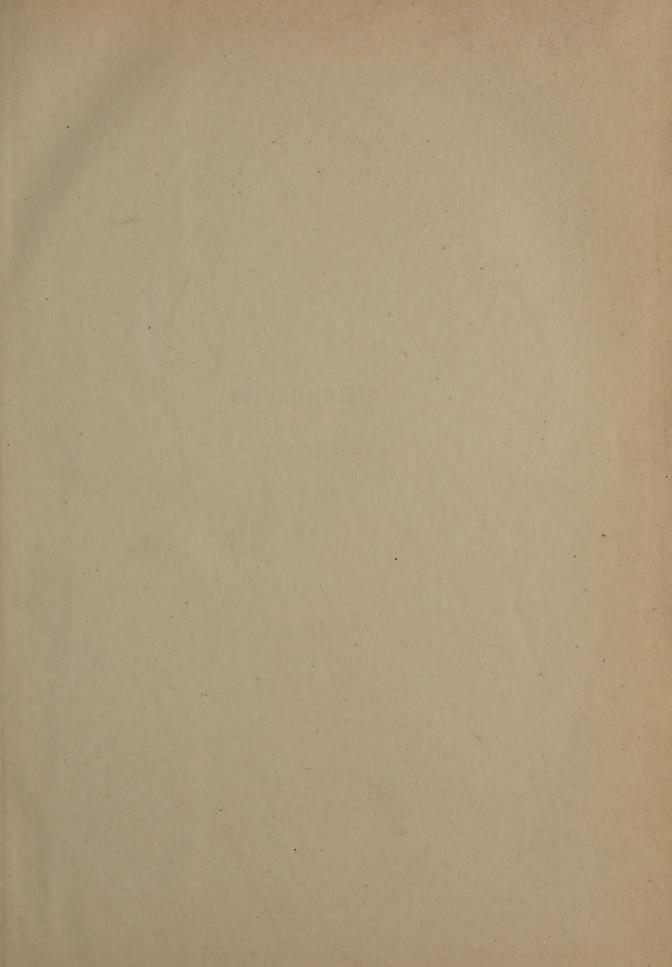
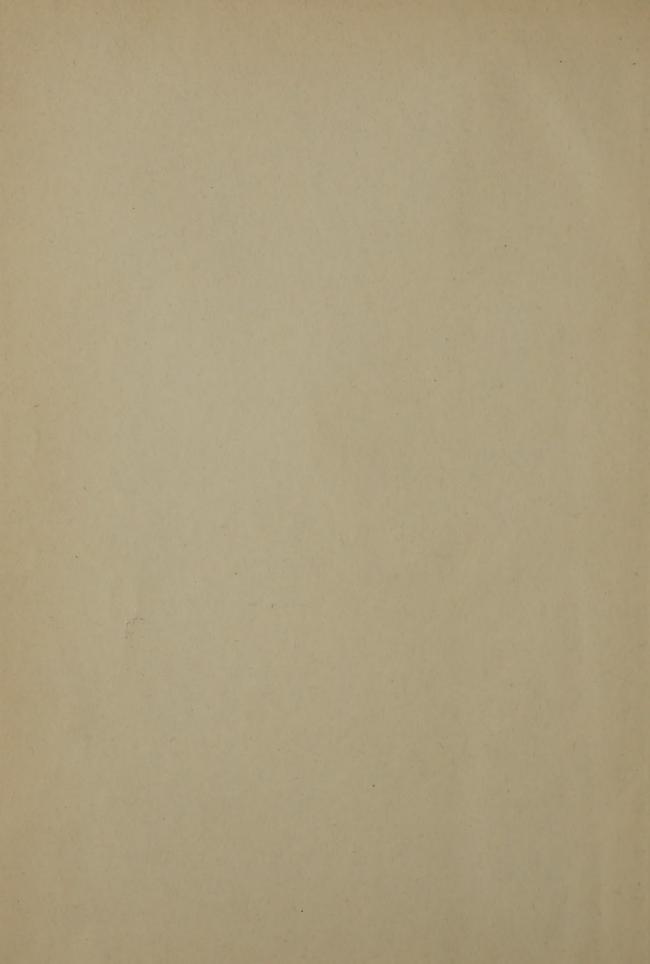


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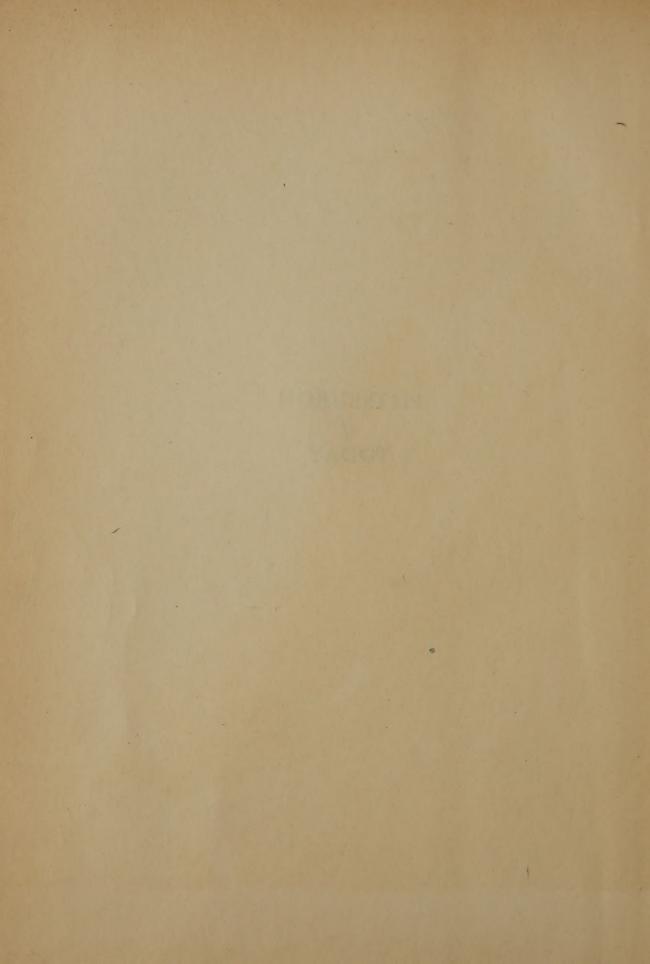


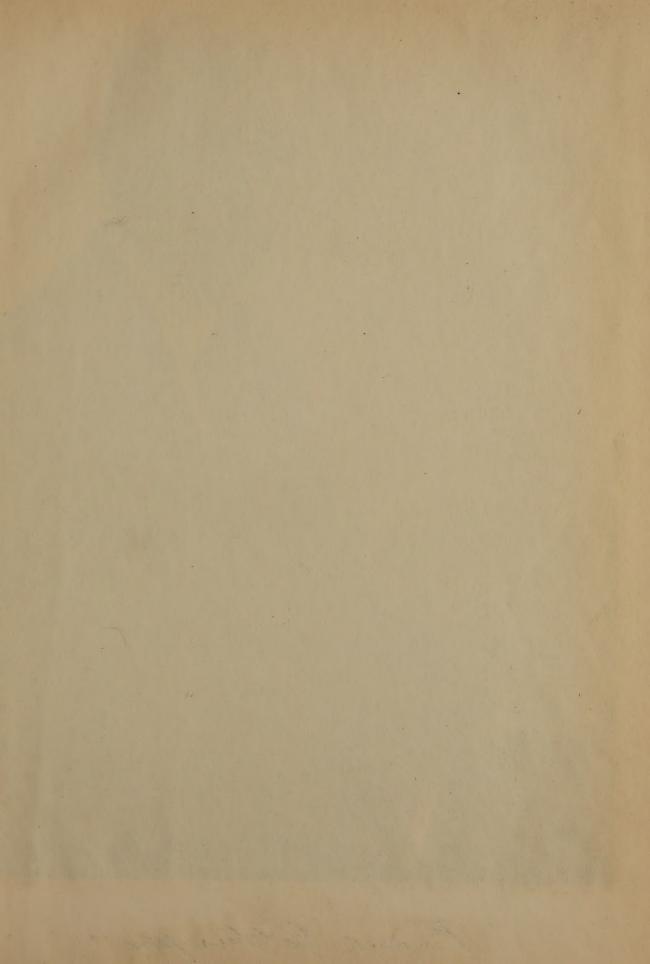


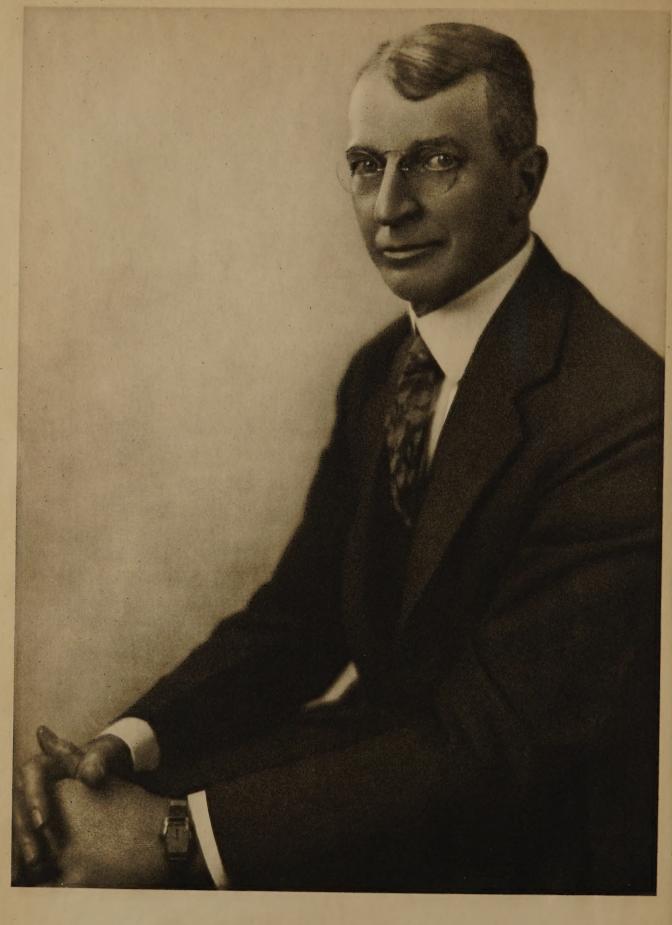
PITTSBURGH

of

TODAY







Frank Offurper

# PITTSBURGH of TODAY

Its Resources and People

*By* FRANK C. HARPER

VOLUME I

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

1931

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# **FOREWORD**

By THOMAS A. DUNN, PRESIDENT, Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce

The critical part played by Pittsburgh in the determination of New World destinies is better realized as time goes on. If New England men had not written so much of our American history it is conceivable that the decisive nature of the events centered here in the middle of the eighteenth century would have been more adequately celebrated. It was here that the outcome of the so-called French and Indian War was really settled, and it was consequently here that Fate made known its decree that the New World should take its laws, customs, language and institutions from the Anglo-Saxon rather than the Latin civilization.

The history of Pittsburgh, the earliest chapters of which are chiefly concerned with the momentous struggle between the English and the French for the possession of the Point, where the Allegheny and Monongahela form the Ohio and give access to the great Ohio-Mississippi Valley, is accordingly world history. It deserves painstaking research and general study as such. The story of the epochal war which the two greatest nations of the world in the eighteenth century waged here with each other in the days of Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt, when all America west of the little outpost at the headwaters of the Ohio was a wilderness, is at least as dramatic as the story of Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Many engaging histories of Pittsburgh have been written. Mr. Erasmus Wilson, the beloved philosopher who was the author of one of them, well said in 1920 that the community has been fortunate in the possession of such students and writers of its history as Brackenridge, Craig, Veech, Darlington, Errett, Lambing, Parke, Thurston, Dahlinger, and Fleming.

And yet when Mr. Wilson made this comment in 1920 there was no extended history, not excepting even his own, up to that time which brought the story up beyond 1898. Mr. Fleming's, published in 1922, included the first decade of the new century. But in the two decades that have intervened since that one there have been notable additions not only to our knowledge of the community's past but to its contemporary development in commerce, industry, education, art, and the humanities in general. So great has been the advance of the community and its contiguous territory in wealth and culture that the preparation and publication of such a work as Pittsburgh of Today appeared not merely proper but imperative.

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The story of Pittsburgh's amazing rôle in the World War would alone warrant the addition of the present volumes to the many admirable histories of Pittsburgh which have preceded them.

Another respect in which the present history makes a departure from previous practice—a departure which will be welcomed by the average reader—is the separation of the city's civil or municipal history from the rest of the narrative and its treatment in distinct chapters.

The industries are covered fully and in an authoritative manner. Such recent developments, for example, as the remarkable expansion of the byproduct coke industry under the national leadership of the Koppers Company of Pittsburgh, and the A. M. Byers Company's perfection of a process of iron manufacture entirely eliminating the costly hand puddling universally employed heretofore, receive the generous space in these volumes to which they are entitled.

The public service which Mr. A. L. Humphrey, one of Pittsburgh's outstanding citizens, rendered in the organization of the "Pittsburgh and the Pittsburgh Spirit" series of addresses under the auspices of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce in 1927 and 1928, is reflected in this latest of Pittsburgh histories. The distinguished educational and industrial leaders chosen to deliver the addresses are frequently quoted. Readers of the industrial chapters will be particularly interested in the study by Dr. Francis D. Tyson, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Pittsburgh, and L. G. Fishach, statistical engineer of the Pittsburgh Railways Company, showing that notwithstanding the widespread tendency toward decentralization of basic industries Pittsburgh's supremacy in the iron and steel trade remains.

Another interesting feature of Pittsburgh's story brought up to date in the year 1931 is the resumption of large scale oil refining in this district after a lapse of forty years. Pittsburgh's immense contribution during recent years to industrial research is also duly considered.

It is gratifying that generous space is devoted to Pittsburgh's religious and educational interests and the far-reaching cultural activities of which the Carnegie Institute is the center.

The American Historical Society, Inc., displayed excellent judgment in securing Mr. Frank C. Harper to prepare this history of Pittsburgh and account of its present-day life, for he has had exceptional opportunities to know the community in all its aspects, whether they be industrial or cultural, and has been closely in touch with Pittsburgh and its people throughout his career.

It is gratifying to all who love Pittsburgh to know that by an arrangement between the University of Pittsburgh and the Buhl Foundation (one of our great and nobly endowed philanthropies, the Falk Foundation being another instituted in recent years) generous financial provision has been

made for the prosecution of thorough expert research into the historic origins of this section. Out of this scientific attack upon our historical problems will in a few years doubtless come many notable additions to our local chronicles. The world beyond Pittsburgh should welcome such a prospect as cordially as we ourselves, for it would have been a far different world today if certain things had not happened here one hundred and seventy-five years ago, and happened not only when they did but precisely as they did.

THOMAS A. DUNN.

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# **AUTHOR'S NOTE**

In addition to the many works of a historical character referred to or quoted in the text of these volumes, the author feels a special obligation to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given to him by Mr. Ralph Munn, Director of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, and by Miss Irene Stewart, head of the Reference Department of that institution. The Pennsylvania Room in the Reference Department of the Library contains a carefully assembled and comprehensive library of several thousand volumes dealing with Pennsylvania history almost exclusively. In the work of the reconstruction of local and state history, now supported by the Buhl Foundation and the University of Pittsburgh, the Library is giving sterling aid.

Another special acknowledgment is due to the editors and contributors of the very excellent *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, published by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and to Miss Emma D. Poole, Librarian of the Society.

Further acknowledgments for encouragement or aid in preparation of these volumes are due to such outstanding citizens of Pittsburgh as Samuel Harden Church, President of the Carnegie Institute; Dr. John G. Bowman, Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh; Dr. Thomas Stockham Baker, President of the Carnegie Institute of Technology; A. L. Humphrey, President of the Westinghouse Air Brake Company; Andrew W. Robertson, Chairman of the Board of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company: E. T. Whiter, Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; W. L. Monro, President of the American Window Glass Company; Arthur E. Braun, President of the Farmers Deposit National Bank; George S. Davison, President of the Davison Coke & Iron Company; Marcus Aaron, President of the Pittsburgh Board of Public Education; Alexander C. Robinson, President of the Peoples-Pittsburgh Trust Company; Edwin W. Smith, Esq.; the Honorable James Francis Burke; Dr. Charles Heinroth, Director of Music at Carnegie Institute; Dr. Alexander Colwell; Dr. Theodore Diller; Dr. Irvin D. Metzger; Robert Garland, President of the Garland Manufacturing Company and member of Pittsburgh City Council; Dr. M. W. Von Bernewitz, of the U. S. Bureau of Mines; and Joseph T. Miller, Chairman of the Metropolitan Plan Commission.

FRANK C. HARPER.

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# CHAPTER I

PITTSBURGH'S NATURAL SETTING



### CHAPTER I

# PITTSBURGH'S NATURAL SETTING

Topography and Geology—Climate—Waterways—Key to Growth and Wealth.

Pittsburgh, a metropolitan city of 1,500,000 population, whose one hundred and twenty-two incorporated suburbs in the fall of 1928 and the spring of 1929 voted on a constitutional plan which will, upon its consummation in a not remote future, unite them all politically with the parent city, as they are now united in all other respects, has richly fulfilled the prophecies made by the explorers who visited it when it was only a frontier wilderness. Washington, in 1753, was certain that on its site there would some day grow a city of no mean importance, and the same vision must have come to the earlier explorers.

The great LaSalle came that way and observed the three rivers in 1669. On the strength of his explorations and discoveries the French laid claim to the entire Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. In the early eighteenth century both French and English were hungrily disputing as to the ownership of the whole region but of the Ohio Valley in particular. The organization of the Ohio Company by the Commonwealth of Virginia to take formal possession of the Valley of the Ohio in 1748, and the dispatch of an expedition for the same purpose under Celeron by the French in 1749, are readily recalled by all students of history.

The French got no farther south with their military expedition than the present Venango up until 1753, and were anticipated in the military occupation of the present site of Pittsburgh by the Virginians, who built a fort on this spot in 1754. The surprise of the Virginians by the French and the capture of the fort before its actual completion embarked Pittsburgh upon a history of international warfare, with first one country and then the other triumphing, which was more eloquent than the written word of the Old World conviction that here was one of the strategic locations of the newly discovered continent.

Pittsburgh's captains of industry to-day place that same high appraisal upon Pittsburgh's geographical situation. The advantages which were once seen as military are now recognized as economic. Nearly one hundred and eighty years of transition and growth have justified the expectations of the pioneers. Before the historical development of the greatest iron, steel, coal

and glass center of the world is described, it will be well to sketch the physical background—topography, geology, climate, etc.—upon which this huge industrial evolution occurred.

Pittsburgh is situated at the headwaters of the Ohio River which is formed in the very heart of the city by the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers in lat. 40° 30′ N. and long. 80° W. As one of the encyclopedias points out, the centrality of its position is unique among the larger communities of the United States. It is 67 miles from Wheeling; 150 miles from Cleveland; 270 miles from Buffalo; 290 miles from Washington; 330 miles from Baltimore; 340 miles from Philadelphia; 430 miles from New York; and a little over 460 miles from Chicago.

By reason of the fact that neither lake nor ocean encroaches upon it nearer than 140 miles while all of the large cities above mentioned have lake or ocean on one side, Pittsburgh has around it more population within five hundred miles than any other large city in the United States. This advantage, of prime importance in the distribution of commodities to market, has reënforced the city's mineral wealth and its manufacturing facilities in a telling manner.

The encyclopedia already quoted speaks of the three rivers as flowing through deep valleys of erosion and adds, "the high lands on their sides are broken into a great number of hills, separated by deep ravines, also caused by erosion in past ages. In its topography the city presents a marked contrast with many other cities, which are built upon comparatively level ground. Thus Rome had her seven hills, but it is no exaggeration to say that Pittsburgh has her seventy hills."

This very learned writer, in referring to Pittsburgh's seventy hills, is merely describing Pittsburgh as it presents itself to the ordinary eye. His brilliant attainments as a scientist leave no doubt that were he writing upon Pittsburgh as a geologist, he would in all probability surprise and mystify the observer by pointing out that in spite of the apparent massive reality of the seventy hills Pittsburgh is built in a ditch, or gorge, or canyon.

"By no possibility can this gorge be called a valley," declared Dr. B. C. Jillson, a geologist who made extensive researches in this region more than forty years ago, "for a valley is defined as the hollow between hills and there is not a hill within fifty miles of Pittsburgh."

Upon the authority of Dr. Jillson, whose testimony \* is corroborated by other geologists, all the rocks in the vicinity are "sedimentary rocks;" they are hardened sediment precipitated from turbid water. They consist of shales, sandstones, limestones, and coal arranged in horizontal layers placed one above the other in as orderly a manner as the dry goods are packed upon the shelves of a well-regulated store. Taking our position at "the Point," we find our-

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;River Terraces in and Near Pittsburgh," by B. C. Jillson.

selves surrounded by cliffs rising to the height of 500, 600 and even 650 Three layers are quite conspicuous on account of their color and thickness, can be seen at a distance, and may serve as types of all. "At the bottom of each cliff is a layer of purple-colored shale 100 feet in thickness. and lying directly upon it is a sandstone, gray in color and 75 feet thick, while the famous Pittsburgh coal-bed, like a broad black ribbon, extends around the city 300 feet above the river." When these layers are seen on one side of the river, similar layers are found on the opposite side in exactly the same order, color and thickness, looking like the ends of planks when sawn asunder. They are the recorded history of the past. They show that all these layers were once continuous, extending across the Ohio, across the Allegheny, across the Monongahela, covering the place where the city now stands with more than 650 feet of solid rock. At that height was the general level of Allegheny County, and there at one time ran the Allegheny, the Monongahela, and the Ohio Rivers, nearly, if not quite, 700 feet above the level of the city's present main business section. In time these rivers cut down the rock, layer after layer and layer after layer until they reached their present level, thus forming the great canyon of the Ohio, which is from I to 2 miles in width, nearly 700 feet deep and 1,200 miles long, extending from near the mouth of the Ohio up the Allegheny 200 miles, and up the Monongahela a like distance. This canyon is lined with terraces, some of which we will investigate.

A terrace is defined as "a platform or level bank of earth." When found on the sides of lakes they are called lake-benches; on the shore of the ocean, sea-beaches; and on the banks of rivers, river-terraces. In the vicinity of Pittsburgh, river-terraces are numerous. Near the close of the last century, Judge H. C. Breckenridge wrote several articles for the Pittsburgh Gazette, in one of which he said: "The town of Pittsbugh, as at present built, stands chiefly on what is called the third bank; that is, the third rising of the ground above the Allegheny River; for there is the first bank which confines the river at the present time, and about 300 feet removed is a second, like the falling of a garden; then a third, at the distance of about 300 yards; and lastly, a fourth bank, all of easy inclination, and parallel with the Allegheny River."

These four terraces have been obliterated by the march of improvements, except a fragment of one which has been preserved from destruction by building thereon a church with its accompanying cemetery. Passing down Sixth Avenue, from Smithfield Street to Wood, we see on our left, Trinity Episcopal Cathedral standing on a terrace several feet above the pavement, and going on down Oliver Avenue, between the same streets, we find the same terrace preserved by a wall 10 feet in height. When the present church

was built, several feet of gravel were removed from this bank, materially reducing its height.

The main business part of Pittsburgh stands on a terrace composed of sand and gravel, all of which was brought down the Allegheny River. This terrace is nearly a mile wide, and extends from the Monongahela to Lawrence-ville. The site of Birmingham is formed of clay brought down the Monongahela, consolidating into "hard pan," impenetrable to moisture, and thus differing totally from the loose sand and gravel brought down the Allegheny.

Allegheny (now North Side) stands on a terrace produced by the Allegheny River, which at one time passed to the north of Monument Hill. Later, it passed to the south of the same hill near its present locality. Wells sunk in the Allegheny parks pass through 75 feet of sand and gravel before reaching bed-rock, and the records of a dozen wells in Pittsburgh show from 75 to 80 feet of river deposit. The islands in the Allegheny and Ohio are terraces produced by the river, while Coraopolis, Sewickley, Sharpsburg, Verona, Springdale, Tarentum, and other towns, owe the beauty of their location to their situation on terraces. But these terraces are comparatively modern; it is the higher and more ancient ones which particularly interest us.

These higher terraces consist of detritus brought down by the rivers and deposited on a shelf of rock previously excavated by the river. These shelves are sometimes only a few feet in width, and sometimes extend back a mile or more.

The most interesting feature of Pittsburgh's geological formation is of course the fabulous wealth of the mineral deposits, not only within the territory adjacent to the city but actually within the city itself. A study of what is known as the Pittsburgh Quadrangle, published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the year 1929, presents some astonishing statistics, which we will quote presently.

The oil industry, of which Pittsburgh was the metropolis fifty years ago, has in large part passed to other regions. Natural gas, which was produced in quantity within the limits of Greater Pittsburgh and which was of enormous value to the iron, steel and glass industries of the community, is also produced to-day in very much larger quantities outside of Pennsylvania than within the state. Coal, on the other hand—and coal of the highest quality in the world—still exists in vast quantities both within the limits of the city and in its immediate environs. Meredith E. Johnson, author of the abovementioned study of the Pittsburgh Quadrangle in the Pennsylvania Geological Survey, quotes a history of the use of natural gas in Pittsburgh (written in 1886) to show that at that period there was a depression in the coal mining industry due to the general application of natural gas for domestic as well as industrial purposes throughout the Pittsburgh district. In the year mentioned, thirty-four iron and steel mills, sixty glass factories, and three hun-

dred smaller factories were buying natural gas from one company operating in the city. Statistics of other companies are not given, but the aggregate natural gas consumption caused a curtailment of over twenty million tons in the yearly production of coal and effected a saving of forty per cent in the fuel cost of manufacturing. In 1930 natural gas, now brought to Pittsburgh from hundreds of wells not only in Western Pennsylvania but in West Virginia and Kentucky, is much more expensive than in the eighties and nineties but is used in vast quantities both by manufacturers and domestic consumers.

In his survey of the Pittsburgh Quadrangle, the State Geologist defines the Quadrangle as including most of southeastern Allegheny County with very small portions of Washington County and Westmoreland County. Pittsburgh is in the northwestern quarter of the Quadrangle, the suburbs of McKeesport and Duquesne near the middle, and Elizabeth near the southern boundary; but the whole Quadrangle as thus bounded comprises an area of approximately only 227 square miles or not much more than one-half the area within the city limits of Los Angeles.

There are four important veins of coal in this Pittsburgh area known as the Pittsburgh coal, the Redstone coal, the Upper Freeport coal and the Middle and Lower Kittanning coals. The Redstone and the Pittsburgh are the higher veins and the ones which have been longest mined. Of the lowerlying coals, the Upper Freeport is the most important with the probability that in a few years its output will be greatly increased. The Kittanning veins are reserves which will not be touched until a much later period owing to the depth at which they lie.

Mr. Johnson reports that although the Pittsburgh vein has been mined within the Quadrangle for 165 years, nevertheless there yet remain probably 137,000,000 tons that will eventually be recovered. The Upper Freeport vein, of very high quality, contains an original deposit of 569,000,000 tons within the Pittsburgh Quadrangle—a great reserve that has hardly been touched. The Middle Kittanning coal is also of excellent quality and is pronounced by the State Geologist to be a reserve second only to the Upper Freeport in quantity and economic importance.

Again we quote Mr. Johnson:

The top, or Pittsburgh vein, extends west into Ohio and south into Maryland and West Virginia. The vastness of the swamp in which the carbonaceous material was deposited, which later was changed into the Pittsburgh coal, is difficult to conceive. Nothing like it exists to-day unless it be the tundras of northern Siberia and North America. Any attempt to estimate the original tonnage of Pittsburgh coal soon runs into figures which are staggering. In this State alone the tonnage still left in the ground is enormous. Even in the relatively small area of

the Pittsburgh quadrangle, where the coal has been mined more than 165 years, there still remains a large tonnage.

In this area the coal is described as being bright, blocky (with butt and face cleat well developed), fairly hard, and suitable for domestic use, for all steaming purposes, for the manufacture of gas, and, in combination with other coals, in the manufacture of coke, and though not the best coal available for such purposes, it can be used for smithing. It is easily recognized in mines or in outcrop by its persistence, thickness, uniformity and the ever-present roof section above the main bed. The uniformity of the bed is probably its most striking characteristic. The coal occurs in two main benches, separated by the "bearing-in" coal and thin clay or shale partings above and below the latter. Those same partings, though very seldom over one inch thick, can be found everywhere the coal is exposed.

The top inch or two of the upper bench and the bottom few inches of the lower bench may be high in sulphur or phosphorus and occasionally are not mined. Much more frequently the whole of the main bed is mined and used.

The coal is underlain by 0 to 3 feet of gray fireclay, the average thickness being less than one foot. A dark carbonaceous limestone usually underlies the fireclay and occasionally is found directly below the coal. The main bed is overlain by fireclay averaging 10 or 11 inches thick and that in turn by the so-called "roof" coal. Although the roof coal is not being mined or used now, it is believed that with further improvements in the use of pulverized coal and fine sizes, even this bony, high ash fuel might be profitably mined in conjunction with the main bed. Coal with as much as 35 per cent ash has already been burned successfully in large power plants.

Before mining operations were begun there were in this Pittsburgh Quadrangle 680,988,000 tons of top-vein or so-called Pittsburgh coal, divided among the suburban townships and the city of Pittsburgh as below:

## TOP-VEIN, OR PITTSBURGH, COAL

	Area of coal	Short
Township or other area	square miles	tons
City of Pittsburgh	3.71	24,892,000
Penn township	6.10	42,006,000
Plum township	1.01	7,348,000
Patton township		30,026,000
Wilkins township and Wilkinsburg	4.20	27,917,000
Reserve township	.17	1,136,000
North Versailles township		26,122,000
North Huntingdon township	6.60	46,702,000
Versailles township including McKeesport	.80	5,900,000
Lincoln township	2.40	15,728,000

Portvue township, including East McKeesport		11,213,000
North Braddock, Rankin and Swissvale	1.60	10,554,000
Baldwin township, including Knoxville, Mt. Oliver and Carrick	12.15	77,990,000
Mifflin township	13.65	79,956,000
Jefferson township	13.58	92,932,000
Snowden township	3.98	28,981,000
Union township	4.02	26,126,000
Forward township	1.18	7,898,000
Elizabeth township	11.65	78,961,000
Sewickley township		38,800,000
Totals	102.15	680,988,000

Of the above total tonnage, the state survey says almost exactly 75 per cent, or 510,741,000 tons, have been mined or irretrievably lost. Assuming that 95 per cent of the remaining coal is recoverable, and that of that amount 15 per cent will be lost in mining operations, there will eventually be recovered 95 per cent by 85 per cent by 170,247,000 tons or 137,474,450 tons. Since yearly production will probably tend to diminish on the average, and since in the past this coal has been mined at a yearly rate of about 3,500,000 tons, it is probable that there will still be recoverable top-vein, or Pittsburgh, coal in the Quadrangle 25 years from now.

It is estimated that within the Pittsburgh area there were originally 569,-017,000 tons of Upper Freeport vein coal, divided among the townships and the city of Pittsburgh as follows, including only coal three feet or more thick:

## UPPER FREEPORT VEIN

Township or other area	Area of coal square miles	Short
•	*	
City of Pittsburgh	4.02	15,541,000
Penn township	8.03	51,320,000
Plum township	4.61	37,250,000
Patton township	4.99	35,232,000
Wilkins township and Wilkinsburg	2.11	14,249,000
North Versailles township	6.54	46,070,000
North Huntingdon township	1.93	10,520,000
Versailles township, including McKeesport	9.31	61,457,000
Lincoln township	1.11	5,168,000
Portvue township, including West McKeesport	·43	1,734,000
Braddock township, including East Pittsburgh, Braddock,		
North Braddock, Rankin, and Swissvale	4.15	30,603,000
Baldwin township, including Knoxville, Mt. Oliver and Carrick	2.50	10,348,000
Mifflin township	19.43	113,433,000
Jefferson township	5.06	34,086,000
Union township	.20	1,242,000
Forward township	·43	2,669,000

Elizabeth township		. 63,932,000 34,163,000
Totals	94.20	569,017,000

Total production of Upper Freeport coal in this Quadrangle up to 1926 is estimated to have been about 665,000 tons. Of this amount the McKeesport Coal & Coke Company has mined 212,724 tons and the New Field By-Products Coal Company the remainder. Comparing the tonnage mined with the estimated original tonnage, it is evident that the reserve of Upper Freeport coal has hardly been tapped as yet.

The Upper Kittanning vein coal is believed to be too thin to warrant mining in any part of the Quadrangle. In seven diamond drill-holes, sunk below the depth of this coal, one encountered 16 inches of coal, one 13 inches, and the others one foot or less. The Upper Kittanning is scarcely ever noted in churn drill-holes.

The Middle Kittanning coal, on the other hand, on account of its uniform thickness and wide extent, is held by Mr. Johnson to be a coal reserve second only to the Upper Freeport in importance. Occurring several hundred feet below the surface, its present value is low, owing to the presence of more easily accessible coals in this and nearby regions. But when the Pittsburgh coal bed is exhausted and the Upper Freeport thoroughly developed, then attention will be focused on the Middle Kittanning and it will be mined by shafts which will not have to be any deeper than several already sunk to the Pittsburgh coal in neighboring districts.

At Rillton, approximately two miles east of Yohoghany, Sewickley township, the Middle Kittanning is 43 inches thick and 147 feet below the Upper Freeport. At Greenock it is 50 inches thick and 161 feet below the Upper Freeport. It was noted in several churn drill-holes in Sewickley township and seems to be fairly persistent in both Versailles and North Versailles townships and in the north part, at least, of North Huntingdon township, where it occurs at an average interval of 160 feet below the Upper Freeport and about 800 feet below the Pittsburgh coal. In the churn drill-hole records the coal is stated to be 2 to 10 feet thick. Actually, however, it probably is nowhere more than five feet thick.

In Mifflin and Baldwin townships the coal was noted in a number of holes at intervals of 160 to 171 feet below the Upper Freeport, the interval decreasing from east to west. As recorded in diamond drill-holes the coal is 31 to 48 inches thick in most of this area. One hole, however, located half a mile southwest of Hays, failed to encounter any Middle Kittanning coal, its place being filled by Kittanning sandstone which is there unusually thick.

The Lower Kittanning coal, occurring usually about 40 feet below the

Middle Kittanning, is apparently less persistent than the latter and somewhat thinner. It nevertheless constitutes a valuable reserve which will some day be mined. Its present value, in view of the fact that other, more available coal beds will probably supply the demand for at least 50 and more likely 100 years, is very low. Only three diamond drill-holes are known to have penetrated the horizon of this coal in or near this Quadrangle. The one at Rillton went through 34 inches of coal at only 35 feet (top of Lower Kittanning) below the Middle Kittanning. At Greenock the interval is 39½ feet, but the coal is only 18 inches thick. The third hole, located half a mile southwest of Hays, found 44 inches of coal at a depth of 211 feet below the Upper Freeport. The coal has also been recorded in a number of churn drill-holes in the east half of the Quadrangle, and in 10 or 11 holes in the northwest section.

Climate of Pittsburgh and Vicinity.\*—In a study of the climate of Pittsburgh and its vicinity, it seems fitting to select a territory having a radius of about eight miles, with the business section of Pittsburgh as its center. The United States Weather Bureau records, which cover a period of fifty years, and which will be used as the basis of the present study of the climatic conditions, were made at this center.

While there are no high hills within this area, the surface of the earth has been cut by a great number of small streams, forming many valleys with generally steep and picturesque sides. These hillsides are largely covered with mixed varieties of small timber and other vegetation, generally of little value. But, there is also much of the land under cultivation, some of which is quite productive.

The elevation of the valley bottoms above mean sea-level ranges from about 680 feet to 800 feet, while the tops of the uplands range from 400 to 500 feet higher. On account of this remarkably rugged topography, a variety of climate may be experienced simultaneously within this short radius. Temperatures are frequently from five to ten degrees lower along the valley bottoms than on the uplands, during nights when the wind movement is light, making conditions favorable for dense fogs in the low places, while on the more elevated places a clear, balmy atmosphere obtains. On the other hand, severe gales sometimes sweep the hills, while the wind movement in the protected valleys is scarcely noticeable.

Some of the outstanding features of the climate might well be related here: The winters are comparatively mild, and the summers generally cool and pleasant. There were but thirty-three winters in the last fifty-five in which zero temperatures were recorded, and only seven summers in which the temperature reached 100 degrees Fahrenheit. The lowest temperature

\*For this study of Pittsburgh's climate we are indebted to W. S. Brotzman, observer in charge of the U. S. Signal Bureau in Pittsburgh.

recorded was 20 degrees below zero, on the 10th day of February, 1899, and the highest was 103 degrees above, on July 10th, 1881, and again on August 6th, 1918. Temperatures of 90 degrees or higher occur on eighteen days a year, on the average, the range in the number being from none, in 1907 and 1920, to forty-nine, in 1881. Since 1875, 100 degrees or higher occurred on fourteen days; six in July, four in August, and four in September.

This area marks the eastern limit of a section of the state of Pennsylvania where the least precipitation occurs. The annual amount received is 36.18 inches, which is about six inches less than the average for the state as a whole. The precipitation is well distributed throughout the seasons. The rains occur, as a rule, in small amounts, and at frequent intervals. Heavy downpours, except for short periods during thunder-storms, are comparatively rare. The greatest 24-hour fall was 4.08 inches, on September 17th, 1876. Heavy snows also are rare. Depths sufficient seriously to impede traffic seldom occur.

The average hourly wind movement near the ground is approximately 6 miles per hour. The prevailing direction is from the northwest. The highest velocity recorded was at the rate of 70 miles per hour, on March 12th, 1920, and on March 4th, 1923. Velocities as high at 50 miles per hour occur frequently, during the summer thunder-storms.

In Weather Bureau Bulletin No. 538, issued as Supplement No. 1 to the *Monthly Weather Review*, a classification of the types of storms of the United States, showing their paths and rate of travel, was made by Edward H. Bowie and R. Hanson Weightman. According to this classification, there are ten principal types of storms, as follows: The Alberta, Colorado, Texas, South Pacific, North Pacific, Northern Rocky Mountain Region, East Gulf, South Atlantic, Central, and West Indian. The last, the West Indian Hurricanes.

These types were named for the places where they first appear on the weather map; the names have no reference to the places where they originated. Storm is here understood to mean the low barometric pressure areas which appear on the daily weather maps, and which move across the country, attended, as a rule, by cloudy and rainy weather, and rising temperature in their eastern part, followed by lower temperature as they pass. They are technically termed "cyclones," on account of the rotary air movement about their centers. This movement is counterclockwise. A cyclone is always followed by an anticyclone, or high-pressure area, which is characterized by clear skies, falling temperature, and a wind movement clockwise about its center, and spirally outward.

The paths of seven of these types of storms lie sufficiently close to Pittsburgh, so that the storms materially influence the weather within our area as they pass on their journeys to the North Atlantic coast, where the paths of all types seem to converge. Storms of the Alberta type appear on the weather map over the Canadian Province of Alberta, and their most frequent path is eastward along the Canadian border, causing general cloudiness over this section, but seldom more than a light sprinkle or a misting rain. The North Pacific type and the Northern Rocky Mountain type likewise pass well to the north of this locality, causing in most cases only cloudy and threatening weather, with but little precipitation. The Central, Colorado, South Pacific, and Texas types pass quite near the Ohio Valley. They are generally attended by widespread rain areas, and these types furnish most of the rains and snows over this locality. The South Pacific and Texas types usually pass south of Pittsburgh, and when this occurs in the winter months snow instead of rain results. These are our heaviest snow-producers. The East Gulf and South Atlantic and the West Indian types pass along the Atlantic Coast, and seldom produce rain or snow west of the Alleghany Mountains. A generally cloudy condition here, however, usually results from these types.

These storms, or barometric Lows, and their accompanying Highs, vary greatly in size, shape, intensity, and rate of movement, and since we are located so near these principal storm tracks, rapid and frequent changes in the weather are experienced by us.

Temperature.—In order to express the degree of heat or cold of any given place in some lucid measure, a mean temperature for each day has been computed from actual thermometer readings, and these daily values have been combined to establish monthly means. A mean of the monthly means for the same month for a number of years establishes a fairly good measure, by which we can convey an idea of the average temperature conditions for that place. But, more fully to understand the climatic conditions of a place as regards temperature, some knowledge should be had of the range in temperature, or the highest and the lowest that may be expected. These data have been compiled at the Weather Bureau office for Pittsburgh and for points in adjoining counties in connection with climatological data for the state, but limited space will not permit publication at this time. A casual inspection of these data reveals an interesting fact concerning points outside Pittsburgh; that, while the maximum temperatures, which are usually the day temperatures, follow quite closely the records made at Pittsburgh, the minimum temperatures, or night temperatures, show considerable divergence from the Pittsburgh records for all the months, but a more pronounced and uniform departure during the summer months.

In a continental, or inland, climate the range between the highest and lowest temperatures for the day is considerably greater than that along the oceans or other large bodies of water. While the mean daily range in this locality is 18 degrees, this number is greatly exceeded by the extreme ranges which from time to time occur. On February 10th, 1885, the temperature fell from 48 degrees above to 4 degrees below zero, a range of 52 degrees in a 24-hour period. Again, on November 12th, 1911, there was a drop of 52 degrees, from 69° to 17°. Such extremes are rare, but ranges of from thirty to thirty-five degrees in one day are of frequent occurrence. These great daily ranges in temperature are generally incident to the cold waves which sweep across the country during the winter months, on the average four or five times in a winter. The rises in temperature following cold waves are, as a rule, more gradual.

The average date of the latest killing frost in spring is April 19th, and the latest date when killing frost occurred in spring, since 1874, when the Weather Bureau records began, was May 29th, in 1894. Light frosts, however, that do but little or no damage, have been observed as late as June 24th. This occurred in 1918. The average date of the first killing frost in autumn is October 22nd. But, the first killing frost has occurred as early as September 25th, while in several years it was delayed till the second week in November. The length of the growing season on the average, therefore, is 182 days. The greatest number of record was 215 days, in 1901 and 1902, and the least was 131, in 1894.

Precipitation.—Precipitation, the principal forms of which are rain, snow, sleet, and hail, as previously stated, accompanies the great cyclonic disturbances that pass near this locality. Measurements of precipitation by the United States Weather Bureau began in 1871, but prior to that time records were kept by several enterprising individuals, which, not official but apparently accurate, date back to 1836 and 1871 is 35.30 inches, while for the 58 years, 1871 to date, the average amount is 36.18 inches. There is, however, a great variation from year to year. In the 26-year period the greatest annual amount was 50.50 inches, in 1865, and the least was 25.32 inches, in 1839. In the Weather Bureau record the greatest annual amount was 50.61 inches, in 1890, and the least was 25.73 inches, in 1900.

The seasonal snowfall from year to year likewise has a great range. The average for the season is 33.7 inches. The greatest seasonal amount was 78.5 inches, in the winter 1913-14, and the least was 8.8 inches, in the winter 1918-19. The greatest monthly amount of snow was 36.3 inches, in December, 1890, and the greatest 24-hour amount was 15.0 inches, on March 5, 1902. Heavy snows occurred twice during the early part of April. On April 3rd-4th, 1901, there was a fall of 13.5 inches, and on April 8th, 1902, 11.2 inches fell. Snow flurries occur occasionally in May. The latest date on which snow was recorded is May 31, 1893. On May 9th and 10th, 1923, nearly an inch of snow covered the ground, the only occurrence of a measurable amount of snow in May, with the exception of 0.1 inch on May 1st, 1908, and 0.5 inch on the 25th, 1925. The earliest occurrence of a measurable amount of

snow in autumn was on October 22nd, 1925, when 2.2 inches fell. The only measurable depths of snow in October were 3.0 on the 24th, 1917, 0.7 inch on the 28th, and 2.0 on the 30th, 1925.

Hail.—That we may more clearly understand the characteristics of hail, I will here quote from Professor W. I. Milham's text-book on Meteorology:

There are three kinds of hail, and each occurs at a different time of the year and is formed in a different way. The hail which occurs during the winter consists of small, clear pellets of ice of about the size of large raindrops—in fact, they are frozen raindrops. Hail of this kind occurs when the temperature of the cloud where the raindrop is formed is above 32° F. while the lower layers of the air are still below the freezing point. As a result, the raindrop freezes during its fall, and reaches the ground as a hailstone. The quantity is usually small, although on rare occasions the ground may be covered to a depth of three or four inches by hail of this kind.

The so-called soft hail consists of a small white pellet of what looks like compacted snow. It occurs usually in very small quantities during March and April, and occasionally during the autumn. It falls nearly always from an overgrown cumulus cloud. It is supposed to be formed from frozen cloud particles mixed with raindrops and compacted by a high wind.

In the summer time hail never occurs except during a thunder-shower. The hailstones are usually large, in some cases several inches in diameter, and they consist of concentric layers of compact snow and ice. Hail nearly always falls at the beginning of a shower, and sometimes great damage is done. . . . The full consideration of the formation of this kind of hail will be deferred until the mechanism of a thunder-shower has been studied, but the structure of the hailstones would seem to show that they had been formed in a cloud whirling about a horizontal axis. The nucleus is carried up and coated with snow; it then falls and is coated with water; it is then carried up again, the water freezes, and is once more coated with snow. This process continues, adding coat after coat, until the hailstone becomes too heavy to be longer sustained, and it falls to the ground.

The foregoing definitions of hail are commonly used in this locality, but the United States Weather Bureau recognizes only the last. The small, clear pellets of ice, frozen raindrops, sometimes seen in the winter months, are termed sleet by the Weather Bureau, and the soft, white, opaque pellets referred to are designated snow. In Pittsburgh and vicinity the fall of sleet is light, seldom of sufficient depth to measure, and occurs only about three or four times in a winter. Another phenomenon, sometimes called sleet,

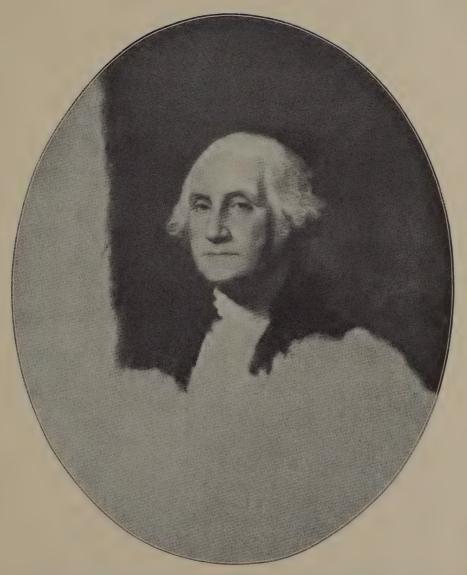
but which is in reality an ice storm, occurs two or three times in a winter. These are of more importance in the climatology of Pittsburgh than sleet, on account of the widespread damage to trees, telegraph and telephone wires, and other exposed objects. These storms occur when it rains very soon after a cold spell, when the ground and the lower layers of air are still considerably below the freezing point. Under such conditions the rain freezes to everything that it touches, and all exposed objects become covered with a layer of ice.

Hail (in the more limited sense of the term, recognized by the Weather Bureau) falls in Pittsburgh and vicinity about four or five times in a summer on the average. When hail occurs it is always associated with a thunderstorm, and is generally light in character, both as to size of the hailstones and in the amount of the fall. There is only one unusually damaging hail-storm on record at the Weather Bureau office, and it occurred on May 20th, 1893. The record states that hail fell from 3:45 to 3:50 p.m., and that the hailstones ranged in size from one-half inch to one and one-half inches. It further states that "many skylights were completely demolished, and that four glass sheets on the roof of the Post Office were broken. All the conservatories in Allegheny City, Pittsburgh City, and the suburbs were very much damaged."

Thunder-storms occur about 50 times in a year. By far the greater number occur from May to September, inclusive, although they are not uncommon in all the months of the year. They are generally light in character, with only moderate rainfall, and with no destructive winds and lightning. The more violent type occur occasionally, about two or three times in a year, in which the wind reaches high and to some extent damaging velocities, and lightning flashes are frequent and at times damaging. The accompanying rainfall in these types is excessive, and damaging in character. A thunder-storm occurred on the morning of December 30th, 1919, in which the accompanying precipitation was a blinding snow-storm.

There are on the average 88 clear days in a year, 145 partly cloudy, 132 cloudy, and 153 days on which a measurable amount of rain falls. The fact that there are but 88 clear days must not be construed to mean that the sun shines on but 88 days in a year. The amount of cloudiness is based on a scale of zero to ten. And the state of the weather is determined with reference to the degree of cloudiness; thus, when the sky is three-tenths or less covered with clouds, the weather is recorded "clear;" four- to seven-tenths, "partly cloudy;" and eight to ten-tenths, "cloudy." It is therefore obvious that the sun may be shining when cloudy weather is recorded. Moreover, the records show that the duration of sunshine, as determined by the automatic sunshine recorder, is 50 per cent of the possible.

Dense fogs occur on about twenty-four days in a year. The fogs usually



GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIRST PROPHET OF PITTSBURGH'S GREATNESS



begin to form in the bottom lands at night, when the wind movement is light, and when the moisture-laden air has become cooled to or below the dew-point. This process of cooling and condensation continues, being fed by the warmer air from the hills, until the valleys are practically filled with a dense fog, frequently several hours before sunrise. The fog usually disappears between 9 and 10 A.M.

Winds.—In his Physics of the Air (1920 edition), Professor W. J. Humphreys, of the Weather Bureau, Washington, D. C., considering the origin and nature of winds, puts them in five distinct classes. Of these only a few are experienced at Pittsburgh, the most important being the cyclonic and anticyclonic, the thunder-storm winds, and, in spots, valley breezes. The cyclonic and the anticyclonic winds range in force from gentle breezes, or perhaps nearly calm, to gales of considerable force. These are generally more nearly calm during the summer months, and reach their maximum strength during the month of March. They accompany the Lows and the Highs previously referred to, and are the prevailing winds over this section. The average hourly velocity of the wind near the ground is about 6 miles per hour, and at the height of 410 feet, where the measurements have been made during the past 19 years, the average velocity is about 11 miles per hour. The prevailing direction of the wind is westerly; the greater portion of the time, northwest.\*

The Rivers—In this equable climate, in which neither winter nor summer is severe, and with the foothills of the mountains on all sides to furnish admirable locations to business men for their summer homes, Pittsburgh has thriven to a degree not suspected by those who take into consideration merely the population of the city itself, and not also the still larger population of the 122 uncaptured suburbs which are one with the city in all but name.

The three rivers which flow within the city limits, and whose stimulating effect upon the commerce and industries of the community, important as it has been in the past, is certain to be of even greater importance in the future, have already been referred to, and it will now be in order to give a brief description of them.

The Ohio River is one of the largest tributaries of the Mississippi. It is formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers at the Point, the tip of the so-called Golden Triangle, or main business section of Pittsburgh. The Allegheny River brings to the Ohio the waters of Chautau-qua Lake and the drainage waters from the southwestern part of New York. The headwaters of the Allegheny in New York are only a few miles from Lake Erie. It is navigable 120 miles from the Ohio. The headwaters of the Monongahela River have their rise in the Alleghany Mountains in West

<sup>\*</sup> End of Mr. Brotzman's study of Pittsburgh climate.

Virginia, near the source of the Potomac River. The Allegheny and Monongahela are large rivers at Pittsburgh, where they blend their waters to make the new stream. Here the Ohio is 1,021 feet above sea level, and at its confluence with the Mississippi it is 322 feet above the sea.

At first the Ohio flows north by west, the valley broadening out to a flood plain. At Beaver, 25 miles from Pittsburgh, the river turns and flows south by west, then almost south, forming the boundary between Ohio and West Virginia. Changing its course west, northwest, southwest, it forms the boundary between Ohio and Kentucky, then the boundary between Kentucky on the south and Indiana and Illinois on the north. Along its course are a number of large curves, but it has no falls or rapids that obstruct navigation except at Louisville, Kentucky, where a coral reef exists; but the rapids formed have been overcome by lateral canals. The descent here is about 22 feet in two miles. The river is now navigable for its whole course, a distance of about 975 miles; but a direct line from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Ohio at Cairo on the Mississippi is about 614 miles. The area of the Ohio basin is about 214,000 square miles. The average rate of flow is a little over three miles an hour.

The chief tributaries of the Ohio are the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Miami in Ohio, and the Wabash, which is the largest affluent from the north. The largest tributaries from the south are the Tennessee and the Cumberland. Other large streams are the Kanawha, the Licking, and the Kentucky.

The largest tributaries of the Ohio have their headwaters in the mountains, and thus they become the depositories of vast quantities of the melted snows and heavy rains of spring which cause floods in the Ohio Valley. Often great damage to property and even loss of life is caused by these floods. The difference between the high and low-water mark some seasons exceeds 60 feet, and in 1887 it was over 70 feet. In the Ohio Valley flood (March-April, 1913) damage was done to 206 towns and over 400 persons lost their lives and \$180,000,000 property loss was sustained. Formerly there were times in the dry season when the water was so low at Pittsburgh and in places below, even as far as Cincinnati, that navigation was prevented. But with the completion of the slackwatering of the river in 1929 it became navigable the whole year round.

The Ohio and its tributaries have 2,300 miles of navigable waters. The coal from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio, the building stone and grain and other farm products, the iron, steel, clay and lumber products, make a large amount of freight which is carried over the Ohio and its tributaries. The average annual amount of freight is over 15,000,000 tons. There are a number of large cities besides Pittsburgh on the banks of the Ohio, notably Cincinnati, Louisville, and Evansville.

The Ohio River has been prominent in the history of the United States. From the first it was recognized as one of the important waterways of the country. The short portages from Lake Erie to the navigable tributaries of the Ohio, and the continuous waterway to the Gulf of Mexico, made the river an alluring route for the explorer, missionary, and settler.

The Monongahela River has its rise in the northwestern part of West Virginia and flows north into Pennsylvania, where, as above noted, it unites at Pittsburgh with the Allegheny to form the Ohio. The headwaters of the Monongahela River are in the Alleghany Mountains near the headwaters of the Potomac. The two head-streams of the Monongahela unite near Fairmont in Marion County, West Virginia, and from the point of junction on the north become a swiftly flowing stream, furnishing water power for several manufacturing towns and cities. Its whole course is very irregular: the length is about 300 miles. It was made navigable about 106 miles from its mouth to Morgantown, in Monongahela County, West Virginia, by a system of locks, nine in number, and other locks above Morgantown now make the river navigable as far as Fairmont. The largest tributary is the Youghiogheny, a navigable river, which has its source in the mountains in the southwestern part of Garrett County, Maryland, and enters the Monongahela near Pittsburgh. The Cheat River, the next largest tributary, is a stream in the northeastern part of West Virginia.

The Allegheny River rises in Potter County, Pennsylvania, and joins the Monongahela at Pittsburgh. Among its tributaries are French Creek and the Clarion and Kiskiminetas Rivers. Its length is 400 miles and it is navigable for about 150 miles above Pittsburgh.

A recent study by a trained economist reminds us that the first industries of Pittsburgh "were those necessary to the preparation of material for the building of Fort Pitt. Activity centered upon supplying the large quantities of bricks, scantling, planking and squared timber which were needed. Because of its accessibility to twelve thousand miles of navigable inland waterways, Pittsburgh prospered as a trading center. The building of boats for use on the Ohio and its tributaries was of importance as early as 1760. The great deposits of coal which lay in abundance to the south were used to heat the fort and for domestic purposes in the town. At that time, iron was smelted by the use of charcoal and, for many years, coal was little thought of except for domestic uses."

In 1780, iron ore was discovered on the western slopes of the Alleghenies, providing a source of ore for more than fifty years. Pittsburgh's first iron furnace, built at Shadyside by George Anshutz, was "blown in," or placed in operation, during 1792. The furnace was not a success, because of the difficulties and cost of procuring ore; its failure ended all attempts to establish furnaces in Pittsburgh for many years, the manufacturers being content

to accept the products of the surrounding counties. In 1797, largely because of the efforts of General James O'Hara and Major Isaac Craig, a Pittsburgh works produced the first glass to be manufactured west of the Alleghenies. Coal was used in the process, the first time such a fuel had been employed for glass making in America.

As we shall later see in detail, by the first years of the nineteenth century, the people of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia turned definite attention to the building of trade with the great west. The growing trade was reflected in a marked increase in shipbuilding; the Pittsburgh of 250 tons was launched in 1801, followed by the Nanina of the same tonnage, the Louisiana of 300 tons and the Western Trader of 400 tons. Pittsburgh was destined to be the center of manufacturing and trade for all of the west, and efforts were made to make it, as far as possible, independent of the east. By 1806, the Pittsburgh Foundry was in full operation, serving during the War of 1812 as a source of government cannon, howitzers and shot. In 1811, the New Orleans, the first steamboat to run on western inland waters, was launched as the pride of the Pittsburgh yards. The practicability of steam navigation on inland waterways was demonstrated and, in the next twenty-five years. over two hundred steamboats were built at Pittsburgh, a number of which crossed the Atlantic Ocean by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the Gulf of Mexico and delivered cargoes of Pittsburgh-made commodities in France, Spain, and other continental countries.

A great New York banking firm \* thus epitomizes the economic foundations of the rise of Pittsburgh:

Of the two controlling forces in modern industry—coal and iron—deposits of coal have generally decided the location of the heaviest concentration of industries. The coal beds that underlie the Pittsburgh district are the most extensive deposits of high-volatile gas and coking coal in the world. The industrial development and modernization of the last half of the past century found a rapidly growing Pittsburgh, supplying the incessant demands of a growing nation for steel and more steel. Directed by the vision, governed by the leadership and inspired by the invention of such men as Andrew Carnegie, Henry Clay Frick and George Westinghouse, Pittsburgh sprang into fame as the industrial giant of the New World.

<sup>\*</sup> Dillon, Read, & Co.

## CHAPTER II

THE CONQUEST OF THE WILDERNESS



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## THE CONQUEST OF THE WILDERNESS

Prehistoric Names of Mountains and Rivers—The Terrible Iroquois—Celeron and His Leaden Plates—Conflicting French and Indian Claims—Charters of Queen Elizabeth and King James—Promises to the Indians—Treaty of 1744 with the Six Nations—Reconnoitering Trip of Christopher Gist—Washington's Famous Embassy from Governor Dinwiddie to Commander of French Fort LeBæuf—His Narrow Escape at Wainwright's Island—Washington's Report Excites Europe—Fort Commenced by English on the Site of Pittsburgh Captured by French and Christened Fort Duquesne in 1754—Washington by a Bold Shot at Great Meadows Opens Europe's Seven Years' War—Indians Won Over by French—General Braddock's Disastrous Campaign for Capture of Fort Duquesne—His Defeat by French and Indians at Braddock's Field and His Death.

Long before the French and English kings were even conscious of the New World and slicing it up on paper to give to their favorites, tribe after tribe of Indians had fought for that triangle at the junction of the three rivers—the Allegheny, the Monongahela and the Ohio. Everybody always wanted it.

It was as if Nature had made an exclamation point of that thin taper of land at the headwaters of the Beautiful River to call attention to its key position and its stately course through fertile valleys to the Mississippi and the sea. Here, inevitably, at this Gateway to the West, was to come the crucial test as to whether this should be a French- or an English-speaking nation.

As one tribe after another, and three nations of white men, the French, the English and the Americans, came in turn to dominate it, there unfolded one of those world dramas whose interest grows ever more intense.

A young man of twenty-one in the service of His Majesty the British King was to come through this wilderness in the winter of 1753 on his way from Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, to the French Fort LeBœuf, near Erie. The consequences of this errand were to rock the world. The young man was George Washington. It was he who left the first written description of the future Pittsburgh, noting in his journal on that first public mission:

As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated

for a fort; as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty, or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Allegheny, bearing northeast; and Monongahela, southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift-running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

Between that errand of his youth and the one of his early maturity to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to take command of the Continental Army, George Washington made five trips to western Pennsylvania and three to the site of Pittsburgh.

Meanwhile, up was to go the British flag over Pittsburgh's Point, then down to the victorious French; down the French and up the British; and many French and English and Indians were to give their life blood in those struggles of the wilderness. George Washington's life was strangely to be spared.

"I'd rather have remembered the bagpipes on Grant Hill when Fort Duquesne fell," says a character of recent fiction,\* "than any conceivable symphony."

On Grant's Hill now stands the Pittsburgh Court House and a few minutes' walk through the heart of the business district takes one to the very tip of the point of the triangle. Here one stands fascinated to see at his feet the formation of the Ohio River, the swifter current of the Allegheny that the young surveyor noted, causing the actual joining of the waters to be some feet beyond the Point. The Indians in their canoes knew every current—every rise and fall.

The modern visitor retracing a few steps from the Point lingers at the Block House—sturdy little remnant of Fort Pitt and British rule. British soldiers watched through those slits of windows, and a faint echo of fife and drum playing "The British Grenadiers" breathes about the place. Before he leaves the visitor has read brass memorial plates with the names of French noblemen, Governors of New France in Canada, who once had jurisdiction here.

It is an epic city—Pittsburgh—with its water traffic of colossal industries; its countless research laboratories questioning every force and property of earth and air and water; with its radio short-wave length carrying its name to the furthest reaches of our planet; with its history from a prehistoric

<sup>\*</sup> Quiet Cities, by Joseph Hergesheimer.

Indian hunting-ground being joyfully rediscovered by thousands of young students.

The Indians, it seems, with their own personal and tribal ambitions and ceremonies of conquest acted not so differently from the white nations later on. Their very names of tribes and rivers give hint of the flavor of what might have been had they recorded in written language the North American Indian Saga.

For instance, one cannot write of Pittsburgh without the Alleghany Mountains, and the Alleghany River, Alleghany County, which was once the whole of southwestern Pennsylvania, and Alleghany City, which is now the North Side of Pittsburgh. The word comes from the prehistoric tribe of Allegewi, or Talligewi, who had gone before the white men appeared and who left no record but an imperishable name.

The Delaware word Monongahela means high banks or bluffs breaking down in places. Da-un-daga means the forks of the rivers. The Seneca word Ho-he-yu named the Ohio the Beautiful River before ever the French called it La Belle Rivière.

Coming and going, combining and separating, surrendering and conquering, the red men with the grand names lit their campfires along these river banks. In time the powerful family of tribes the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, succumbed to the Five, afterward Six Nations. These Six Nations were the immortal Iroquois. Early historians called them "the Romans of America."

They called themselves Hodenaumee, meaning "they form a cabin"; and they had better cabins and villages and government than other tribes. They were known to other tribes as Mengwe, later to the Dutch as the Magua, to the English as the Mingoes and to the French as the Iroquois. The French called them Iroquois because they used to close their speeches with the word "hiro" meaning "I have said," and they followed this by a plaintive cry that sounded like "koue."

These Iroquois before the coming of the white men were the terror of all the tribes between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. They claimed stretches from the headwaters of the Ottawa to the Carolinas and with the beginning of white history no lingering tribe disputed their claim to what is now southwestern Pennsylvania.

Their settlements were small and widely scattered through the country and indeed the little villages were as likely to get up and walk off to some change of scene as the individual inhabitants might have been. One likes to try to attach the names and sites of two of them to his local history: Shannopinstown (on the east bank of the Allegheny about two miles above the

Point) because it was within the limits of the present Pittsburgh; and also because the famous French Captain Celeron (who descended the river burying leaden plates as he came inscribed with the statement that it belonged to the French king) wrote in his journal that it was the most beautiful place he had seen on his journey. The other, Logstown (about eighteen miles down on the north side of the Ohio, near the present Sewickley), because it was the most important of the Indian towns and the scene of great events, as we shall see.

In Europe in the late 1500's and early 1600's the monarchs were looking with interest at maps which showed pictures of dragons in the Atlantic Ocean and rather wild speculations west of the Alleghany Mountains. In England Shakespeare was producing his plays with Queen Elizabeth as a frequent spectator. Books were being printed. Learning was being revived. Bankers talked about world trade.

In France it was the time when banners were waving for Henry of Navarre. And Champlain, to whom this same gallant Henry had given much of his own slender means to keep him near him, was making voyages to Canada.

In Spain, Philip the Third was banishing the Moors, the Spanish Armada was destroyed, and William of Orange revolted in the Netherlands.

Elizabeth of England (in 1564) had granted to her favorite, Sir Walter Raleigh, a patent for a vast slice of the new continent extending along the Atlantic seaboard and back from it indefinitely into space. The future site of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County was included in this grant, but we remember that poor Raleigh with all his efforts in the new country fell from favor and that no settlement was made under that patent.

It was to a company headed by his rival and enemy, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, that the future Allegheny County territory was granted by James the First, May 2nd, 1609. The land granted to this company extended two hundred miles north and as many south of Old Point Comfort, "up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest." This was Virginia's first established claim to southwestern Pennsylvania.\*

But Royal Charters canceled or contradicted each other fairly generally; and while the land around the headwaters of the Ohio was thus granted to Virginia in 1609, it was afterward included in the charter granted to William Penn by Charles the Second, March 4, 1681.

Probably nobody knows whether King Charles deliberately gave to Penn land which belonged to Virginia or was ignorant of the former charter. But from now on not merely the Indians, the French, the English, but the Virginians and the Pennsylvanians were to want southwestern Pennsylvania.

<sup>\*</sup>See the Rev. A. A. Lambing's Allegheny County: Its Early History and Subsequent Development. Chapter I.

In the years from 1600 to 1620—years so heavy-laden with adventure without engine and without radio—small sailing vessels, we remember, had landed at Plymouth, and Quebec. And now for a hundred years to follow we see the British Colonies establishing themselves in a row along the Atlantic from Maine as far as Spanish Florida.

"French America," writes Francis Parkman,\* "had two heads—one among the snows of Canada, and one among the canebrakes of Louisiana; one communicating with the world through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other through the Gulf of Mexico. These vital points were feebly connected by a chain of military posts—slender and often interrupted—encircling through the wilderness nearly three thousand miles. Midway between Canada and Louisiana lay the valley of the Ohio. If the English should seize it, they would sever the chain of posts, and cut French America asunder. If the French held it, and entrenched themselves well along its eastern limits, they would shut their rivals between the Alleghenies and the sea, control all the tribes of the West, and turn them, in case of war, against the English borders."

These settlements, most of them, now were rearing homes, with people living in them, in the prodigious experience of conquering the wilderness and finding—or trying to find—their hearts' desires. It meant something vital to those homes when the French, through La Salle's discovery of the Mississippi, laid claim (in 1682) to all lands watered by its tributaries; and when the English (in 1713) by the Treaty of Utrecht, claimed the continent from sea to sea through the early discoveries of the Cabots and through Royal grants.

Traders were pushing into the wilderness from east and from west and selling among other things both firearms and firewater to the Indians. The Indians tolerated the traders because they needed them or thought they needed them. They were used to seeing strange-looking expeditions of white men with Indian guides. Their affairs were growing more and more complicated by little treaties with these people, and sales, usually profitless, of portions of their hunting-grounds; and by the use of firearms which after all frightened away the game and gave notice of their positions and required to be brought back to the traders for more ammunition and repairs. They were complicated too by their own bewilderment and growing disillusionment.

Even so, the Indians had still to be reckoned with. Their friendship was sufficiently important to the Colonies to have representatives of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland meet with the Six Nations in 1744 to make the Treaty of Lancaster. The purpose of the English was to affirm and

<sup>\*</sup> Francis Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. I.

confirm friendly relations and get Indian consent to the settlement of the Ohio Valley. Conrad Weiser, a German Pennsylvanian who had spent his early life with the Indians and had their confidence, acted as interpreter.

"The conference lasted twelve days," wrote the Rev. Father Lambing, "did little credit to the commissioners, who studied to keep the Indians constantly under the influence of intoxicating drinks, and the result was that, while they gained their point, they gave occasion for just and bitter complaints for years to come."

It was upon this treaty that the English thereafter based their western territorial claims against the Indians.

By far the most important of the land companies which were being formed about this date was the Ohio Land Company, organized in 1748 by Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia Assembly, and including Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, ten other Virginians and Thomas Hanbury, London Agent. Half a million acres of land was the Royal grant to this company. They lay between the Monongahela and the great Kanawha, lying chiefly on the south side of the river.

The requirement was that a hundred families should be settled on the land within seven years and that the company build and maintain a fort and garrison to protect these settlers. Two hundred thousand acres were to be taken up at once and were to be free of rent and taxes for ten years. Naturally, preparations for the surveying and settling of the land began at once, and a shipload of supplies was ordered from London for the use of settlers and for traders in their traffic with the Indians.

Of course the French knew of this. Now, something far bigger than the fur trade was at stake with this English occupation.

The Marquis de la Galissonière, Governor-General of Canada, therefore dispatched one of his officers of Infantry, Captain Celeron de Bienville, down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers in the summer of 1749 to take possession of the Ohio Valley in the name of the French king. He sailed with 14 officers (including Contracœur and de Villiers of whom we shall hear again) 29 soldiers, 108 Canadians, a band of Indians, and 25 birch bark canoes.

"The wooden crosses which Celeron erected along the Ohio River were intended to indicate that the country was dedicated to the Christian religion; the sovereignty of France was proclaimed by the burial of leaden plates reciting the story of the occupation. Priests and soldiers chanted the Te Deum, the hills and valleys rang with the cries of Vive Le Roi, and the country was part of New France." \*

One of these leaden plates unearthed near Franklin, Pennsylvania, was inscribed in French as follows:

<sup>\*</sup> Charles W. Dahlinger's Fort Pitt.

In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, King of France, we, Celeron, Commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonière, Governor-General of New France, to reëstablish tranquillity in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this plate of lead at the confluence of the Ohio and the Chautauqua, this 29th day of July, near the River Ohio, otherwise Belle Rivière, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the Kings of France preceding, as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.

Celeron had warned off the English traders as he journeyed, had sent a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania expressing surprise (and grief) to find Englishmen trespassing on the French king's domain, and had done his best everywhere to establish friendship with the Indians. Father Bonnecamps, chaplain of the expedition, estimated that they had traveled twelve hundred leagues.

It was turn and turn about. The next year (in September of 1750) the Ohio Land Company sent Christopher Gist—utterly without pomp and circumstance—into the disputed country to do some "finding out." Christopher Gist was a frontiersman of education who had studied for the priest-hood of the Anglican Church in England and had later settled in North Carolina. The Land Company gave him what we would call a large order. Just what was expected of him is too interesting to omit telling in full:

You are to go out as soon as possible to the Westward of the great Mountains (run his instructions), and carry with you such a Number of Men, as You think necessary, in Order to search out and discover the Lands upon the River Ohio, & other adjoining Branches of the Mississippi down as low as the great Falls thereof: You are particularly to observe the Ways & Passes thro all the Mountains you cross, & take an exact Account of the Soil, Quality, & Product of the Land, and the Wideness and Deepness of the Rivers, & the several Falls belonging to them, together with the Courses & Bearings of the Rivers & Mountains as near as you conveniently can: You are also to observe what Nations of Indians inhabit there, their Strength & Numbers, who they trade with, & in what Comodities they deal.

When you find a large Quantity of good, level Land, such as you think will suit the Company, You are to measure the Breadth of it, in

three or four different Places, & take the Courses of the River and Mountains on which it binds in Order to judge the Quantity: You are to fix the Beginning & Bounds in such a Manner that they may be easily found again by your Description; the nearer in the Land lies, the better, provided it be good & level, but we had rather go quite down the Mississippi than take mean broken Land. After finding a large body of good level Land, you are not to stop, but proceed farther, as low as the Falls of the Ohio, that We may be informed of that Navigation. And You are to take an exact Account of all the large Bodies of good level Land, in the same Manner as above directed, that the Company may the better judge where it will be most convenient for them to take their Land.

You are to note all the Bodies of good Land as you go along, tho there is not a sufficient Quantity for the Company's Grant, but You need not be so particular in the Mensuration of that, as in the larger Bodies of Land.

You are to draw as good a Plan as you can of the Country You pass thro: You are to take an exact and particular Journal of all your Proceedings, and make a true Report thereof to the Ohio Company.

The preservation of these old journals permits us, if we wish, to live vicariously such an experience as this of Christopher Gist (who was so soon to be the guide of the young Washington); and we may note with interest these extracts from the "exact and particular Journal."

1750.—In Complyance with my Instructions from the Committee of the Ohio Company bearing Date the 11th Day of September 1750.

Wednesday Octr 31.—Set out from Colo Thomas Cresap's at the old Town on Potomack River in Maryland, and went along an old Indian Path N30 E about 11 Miles.

Thursday Nov 1.—Then N 1 Mile N 30 E 3 M here I was taken sick and stayed all Night . . .

- ... Sunday 18.—I was very sick, and sweated myself according to the Indian Custom in a Sweat-House, which gave Me Ease, and my Fever abated.
- Prayers, but after inviting some of the White Men, they informed each other of my Intentions, and being of several different Persuasions, and few of them inclined to hear any Good, they refused to come. But one Thomas Burney a Black Smith who is settled there went about and talked to them, & then several of them came; and Andrew Montour invited several of the well disposed Indians, who came freely . . . and one of Them went and brought Me his Book (which was a Kind con-

trived for Them by the French in which the Days of the Week were so marked that by moving a Pin every Morning they kept a pretty exact Account of the Time) to shew Me that He understood Me, and that He and his Family always observed the Sabbath Day. . . .

Some personal insight into the complications of trading is revealed in the entry of January 9th:

... this Day came into Town two Traders from among the Pickway-liness (these are a Tribe of the Twigtwees) and brought News that another English Trader was taken prisoner by the French, and that three French Soldiers had deserted and come over to the English, and surrendered themselves to some of the Traders of the Pick Town, & that the Indians would have put them to Death, to revenge their taking our Traders, but as the French Prisoners had surrendered themselves, the English would not let the Indians hurt them, but had ordered them to be sent under the Care of three of our, Traders and delivered at this Town, to George Croghan.

The last entry of that famous enterprise is this:

... Sunday 19 (May).—Set out for Roanoke, and as We had now a Path, We got there the same Night where I found all my Family well.

CHRISTOPHER GIST.\*

After his meeting with George Croghan the two had traveled together, going over much of the same ground that Celeron had covered. Like him, they too tried to convert every Indian they met to their nation's interest. They did what they could to counteract Celeron's influence.

In the meantime the Ohio Land Company built a trading house at Will's Creek, the present Cumberland, which was much frequented by the Indians and which was to be the stopping place on more than one retreat.

Gist had another important errand for the Ohio Land Company the next year when he went as their agent to treat with the Indians at Logstown. The French had placed too many difficulties in the way for the English to have been successful in their efforts to establish settlements on their grant. In this new treaty-making the Indians showed that they were not at all happy in the old Treaty of Lancaster. But after much talk the three Colonels from Virginia who were present and the others came to the agreement with the Indians that the Indians would not molest any settlements that might be made on the southeast side of the Ohio.

<sup>\*</sup> Reprinted from William M. Darlington's Christopher Gist's Journals.

Events had now led up to that immortal date in American history, 1753. Of how this part of the country looked then, we find a suggestion in Celeron's journal. He mentions an English trading house on the Allegheny near the mouth of Oil Creek, and that of John Fraser, a gunsmith, near the mouth of French Creek. The cabins then nearest the "Forks" as the confluence of the three rivers was called, were probably near the present Sharpsburg, Emsworth, and Sewickley. Later, Gist moved from North Carolina with his own and eleven other families and established the most important settlement of the region a few miles west of Laurel Ridge, near the present Uniontown. Not far from there among the hills and ravines were great natural meadow lands. Of the land immediately about the Forks Colonel Bouquet five years later was to write to one "Dear Nancy," "a more particular account—chiefly about the beauty of this situation, which appears to me beyond my description." We know the hills were nobly wooded; that birchbark of Indian wigwams at night glowed opalescent from the inner fires whose smoke curled from the tops; that among the things one feared most in the forests were wildcats and mysterious sounds; and that the Point, lying sharply defined amid the encircling foothills of the Alleghanies, was one of the brightest as it was to be one of the most coveted jewels of the New World.

The Marquis de la Galissonière, Governor-General of Canada, had died in Quebec in 1752, and was succeeded by the Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, who pursued a vigorous policy in the erection of new forts. One of these was at Presque Isle, now Erie, connected by a portage road cut through the wilderness with Fort LeBœuf on French Creek. He also established an outpost at Venango on the Allegheny. When the water was high they could thus come down from the Lakes to French Creek, to the Allegheny, to the Ohio, to the sea.

In the same year that the Marquis Duquesne became Governor of Canada, Robert Dinwiddie, a Scotsman, became governor of Virginia.

The two were keeping watch on the Ohio valley—the Gateway to the West; one from Montreal, which was a kind of miniature France; the other from Williamsburg, which was a kind of miniature England.

General Duquesne appointed an elderly French officer, a Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, just returned from explorations in the Rocky Mountains, as Commandant of the new forts—Chevalier Legardeuer de Saint Pierre.

Governor Dinwiddie appointed as messenger to carry a threatening letter to this Commandant a youth of twenty-one, a Major of Virginia Militia—George Washington.

The two were now to match courage, courtesy and wits.

When George Washington at the age of fourteen wanted to enter the Navy and his mother would not let him, he went along with his studies, especially mathematics, which led him to the study of surveying. He seems to have had an instinctive genius for it. His surveys are as accurate to-day as they were then and they went then unquestioned. And when, his school-days ended, he went to live with his adored older brother Lawrence Washington at his estate, Mount Vernon, we remember that the younger brother made himself extraordinarily useful to the elder as a surveyor before he was yet sixteen.

Lord Fairfax, who lived on the adjoining estate, Belvoir, admired this youngster immensely and made him his friend. The two were often together fox-hunting or surveying and the tall boy was a frequent visitor at Belvoir with its books and its fashions from England, its sports and its minuets, its guests from the great world.

His generous friend made him surveyor of his great lands stretching far back into the wilderness, and life for the boy took on many new colors, dangers and joys. He writes in a letter of the time: "... Since you received my letter in October last, I have not sleep'd above three nights or four in a bed, but, after walking a good deal all the day, I lay down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder or bearskin . . . with man, wife and children, like a parcel of dogs and cats; and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire."

Sleep is again noted with "one thread bear blanket with double its weight of vermin" and again with "a good Feather Bed with clean sheets." Another entry tells of "our tent carried quite off with ye wind" and of meeting with Indians who did a war dance for him, "jumping about ye Ring in a most comicle manner."

Living among backwoodsmen he came to equal their skill as frontiersmen in camping, swimming, riding, pathfinding. At this time, writes Owen Wister in one of the most revealing and delightful of books, "The Seven Ages of Washington," he was "learning the alphabet of Trenton and Valley Forge."

A licensed surveyor at seventeen, adjutant general of his district and a Major of Virginia militia at twenty-one, he would seem to have been, in spite of his youth, the natural person for Governor Dinwiddie to choose for so delicate and perilous a commission as that through unbroken wilderness in dead of winter, to carry an official letter of warning to a French fort.

Lawrence Washington had died and George Washington was now himself proprietor of beautiful Mount Vernon. His journals leave no doubt that he loved clean sheets; but this interesting young man of private fortune was afraid neither of "thread bear" blankets in Indian wigwams nor of wilderness nights with but canvas shelter, and he grabbed at the chance to go. He started out on the day he received his commission, October 31st, 1753.

As Celeron had written the Governor of Pennsylvania of his painful surprise that the English should trespass on the French king's domain, so now Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Commandant Legardeuer de Saint Pierre of his painful surprise that the French should trespass on parts of the Colony of Virginia, so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain. He told him, in finer words, to leave the place and implied that the answer he received would determine his course; adding, "I persuade myself you will receive and entertain Major Washington with the candor and politeness natural to your nation, and it will give me satisfaction if you can return him with an answer suitable to my wishes for a long and lasting peace between us."

George Washington's journal of this expedition which was to become immediately a sensation in Europe and the Colonies, was also to become one of the most famous documents of history. It is in this journal that we have the first known description of Pittsburgh, already quoted; and two incidents of narrow escape from death, one as he was approaching the "Forks" on his return journey, the other in the ice-filled Allegheny River at the place spanned by Pittsburgh's Memorial to George Washington, the great bridge known as Washington Crossing, at Fortieth Street.

Governor Dinwiddie required that he should keep a detailed journal, not omitting personal incident. Thus we have the record that lets us travel with him step by step. It is the subject of some of the most fascinating historical observations. A number of them from Washington's own time through to the present day, have been collected in an extraordinary little volume edited and compiled by Don Marshall Larrabee.\* It is from this we will reprint the Journal:

I was commissioned and appointed by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., Governor, &c., of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day: the next, I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceed with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester, and got baggage, horses, &c. and from thence we

<sup>\*</sup> A Reprint of the Journal of George Washington, and That of His Guide, Christopher Gist, Reciting Their Experiences on the Historic Mission from Governor Dinaviddie, of Virginia, to the French Commandant at Fort LeBæuf in November-December, 1753. Including Excerpts from the Writings of Historians and Statesmen as to the Importance of the Mission, Its Results and Effect on the World's History.

pursued the new road to Wills' Creek, where we arrived the 14th November.

Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as servitors, Barnaby Currin, and John M'Quire, Indian traders, Henry Steward, and William Jenkins; and in company with those persons left the inhabitants the next day.

The excessive rains and vast quantity of show which had allen, prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on Monongahela river, until Thursday the 22nd. We were informed here, that expresses had been sent a few days before to the traders down the river, to acquaint them with the French General's death, and the return of the major part of the French army into winter quarters.

The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Steward down the Monongahela, with our baggage, to meet us at the forks of the Ohio, about ten miles; there, to cross the Allegheny.

As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort; as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is 20, or 25 feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land all around it very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Allegheny, bearing northeast; and Monongahela, southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, king of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to council at the Loggstown.

As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the fork, my curiosity led me to examine it more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defense or advantages; especially the latter. For a fort at the fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have, the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other places. . . .

There follows here a description of the lower site.

Shingiss attended us to the Loggstown,\* where we arrived between sun-setting and dark, the 25th day after I left Williamsburg. We travelled over some extremely good and bad land to get to this place.

As soon as I came into town, I went to Monakatoocha (as the half king was out at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver creek, about 15 miles off) and informed him by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general; and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the half king, which he promised to do by a runner in the morning, and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men present, to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and returned.

According to the best observations I could make, Mr. Giff's new settlement (which we passed by) bears about west northwest 70 miles from Wills' creek; Shanapins† or the forks, north by west, or north northwest about 50 miles from that; and from thence to the Loggstown, the course is nearly west about 18 or 20 miles: so that the whole distance, as we went and computed it, is, at least, 135 or 140 miles from our back inhabitants.

25th. Came to town, four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas, which lies at the mouth of this river. I got the following account from them. They were sent from New Orleans with 100 men, and eight canoe loads of provisions, to this place, where they expected to have met the same number of men, from the forts on this side of Lake Erie, to convoy them and the stores up, who were not arrived when they ran off.

I inquired into the situation of the French on the Mississippi, their numbers and what forts they had built. They informed me, that there were four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, garrisoned with about 30 or 40 men, and a few small pieces in each. That at New Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi there are 35 companies of 40 men each, with a pretty strong fort mounting eight carriage guns; and at the Black Islands there are several companies and a fort with six guns. The Black Islands are about 130 leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about 350 above New Orleans. They also acquainted me, that there was a small pallisadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Obaish, about 60 leagues from the Mississippi. The Obaish heads near the west end of Lake Erie, and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the

<sup>\*</sup>Logstown, as before noted, was situated near the site of the present Sewickley. † Referred to earlier in this history as Shannopinstown.

lakes. These deserters came up from the lower Shannoah town with one Brown, an Indian trader, and were going to Philadelphia.

About three o'clock this evening the half king \* came to town. I went up and invited him with Davidson, privately, to my tent; and desired him to relate some of the particulars of his journey to the French commandant, and of his reception there; also, to give me an account of the ways and distance. He told me, that the nearest and levelest way was now impassable, by reason of many large miry savannas; that we must be obliged to go by Venango, and should not get to the near fort in less than five or six nights' sleep, good traveling. When he went to the fort, he said he was received in a very stern manner by the late commander, who asked him very abruptly, what he had come about, and to declare his business: which he said he did in the following speech:

"Fathers, I am come to tell you your own speeches; what your own mouths have declared. Fathers, you, in former days, set a silver basin before us, wherein there was the leg of a beaver, and desired all the nations to come and eat of it, to eat in peace and plenty, and not to be churlish to one another: and that if any such person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the dish a rod, which you must scourge them with; and if your father should get foolish, in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.

"Now, fathers, it is you who are the disturbers in this land by coming and building your towns; and taking it away unknown to us, and by force.

"Fathers, we kindled a fire a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may dispatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land and not yours.

"Fathers, I desire you may hear me in civilness; if not, we must handle that rod which was laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brothers the English, we would not have been against your trading with us, as they do; but to come, fathers, and build houses upon our land, and take it by force, is what we can not submit to.

"Fathers, both you and the English are white, we live in a country

\*Lossing writes of the half king in his Life of Washington, "Very few of the Indians whose names are preserved in American history are entitled to a more respectful notice than Chief Tanacharisson, the Half King, called the Half King on account of his subordination to the Iroquois. He was honest, sagacious and brave, considered himself the father of his people, and had steadily maintained that their interests were his rule of action."

between; therefore, the land belongs to neither one nor the other. But the great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers, the English, have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land."

This he said was the substance of what he spoke to the general, who made this reply:

"Now, my child, I have heard your speech; you spoke first, but it is my turn to speak now. Where is my wampum that you took away, with the marks of towns in it? This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the land with: but you need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those: I tell you down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open, and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon the seashore: therefore here is your wampum; I sling it at you. Child, you talk foolish; you say this land belongs to you, but there is not the black of my nail yours. I saw that land sooner than you did, before the Shannoahs and you were at war; Lead was the man who went down and took possession of that river. It is my land, and I will have it, let who will stand up for, or say against it. I will buy and sell with the English (mockingly). If people will be ruled by me, they may expect kindness, but not else."

The half king told me he had inquired of the general after two Englishmen, who were made prisoners, and received this answer:

"Child, you think it a very great hardship that I made prisoners of those two people at Venango. Don't you concern yourself with it: we took and carried them to Canada, to get intelligence of what the English were doing in Virginia."

He informed me that they had built two forts, one on lake Erie, and another on French creek, near a small lake, about 15 miles asunder, and a large wagon road between. They are both built after the same model, but different in size: that on the lake the largest. He gave me a plan of them of his own drawing.

The Indians inquired very particularly after their brothers in Carolina gaol.

They also asked what sort of a boy it was who was taken from the south branch; for they were told by some Indians, that a party of French Indians had carried a white boy by Kuskuska town, toward the lakes.

26th. We met in council at the long house about nine o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows:

"Brothers, I have called you together in council, by order of your brother the governor of Virginia, to acquaint you, that I am sent with all possible dispatch, to visit and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers the English; and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

"I was desired, brothers, by your brother the governor to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

"His honor likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way; and be a safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you, brothers, because his honor our governor treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this string of wampum."

After they had considered for some time on the above discourse, the half king got up and spoke.

"Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother the governor had desired of me, I return you this answer.

"I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers, and one people. We shall put heart in hand and speak to our fathers, the French, concerning the speech they made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your guard.

"Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech belt is not here; I have it to go for to my hunting cabin. Likewise, the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come, and cannot until the third night from this; until which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

"I intend to send the guard of Mingos, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them."

As I had orders to make all possible dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable man-

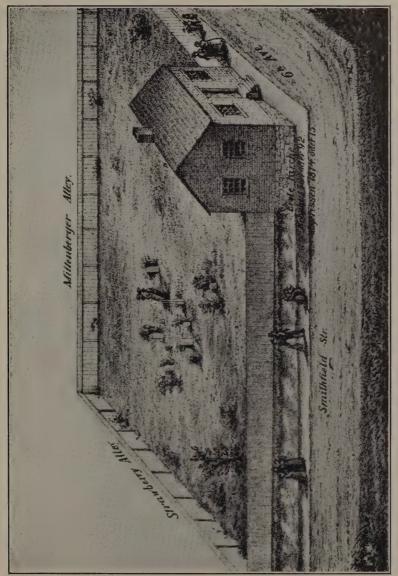
ner I could; and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of that delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the time he had appointed, and told me, that he could not consent to our going without a guard, for fear some accident should befall us and draw a reflection upon him. Besides, said he, this is a matter of no small moment, and must not be entered into without due consideration; for I intend to deliver up the French speech belt, and make the Shannoahs and Delawares do the same. And accordingly he gave orders to king Shingiss, who was present, to attend on Wednesday night with the wampum; and two men of their nation to be in readiness to set out with us next morning. As I found it was impossible to get off without affronting them in the most egregious manner, I consented to stay.

I gave them back a string of wampum which I met with at Mr. Frazier's, and which they sent with a speech to his honor the governor, to inform him, that three nations of French Indians, viz., Chippoways, Ottoways, and Orundaks, had taken up the hatchet against the English; and desired them to repeat it over again. But this they postponed doing until they met in full council with the Shannoah and Delaware chiefs.

27th. Runners were dispatched very early for the Shannoah chiefs. The half king set out himself to fetch the French speech belt from his hunting cabin.

28th. He returned this evening, and came with Monakatoocha, and two other sachems to my tent; and begged (as they had complied with his honour the governor's request, in providing men, &c.) to know on what business we were going to the French? This was a question I had all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory answers to as I could; which allayed their curiosity a little. . . .

29th. The half king and Monakatoocha came very early and begged me to stay one day more: for notwithstanding they had used all the diligence in their power, the Shannoah chiefs had not brought the wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in to-night; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would send it after us as soon as they arrived. When I found them so pressing in their request, and knew that returning of wampum was the abolishing of agreements; and giving this up was shaking off all dependence upon the French, I consented to stay, as I believed an offense offered at this crisis, might be attended with greater ill consequence, than another day's delay. They also informed me, that Shingiss could not get in his men; and was prevented from coming himself by his wife's sickness (I believe, by fear of the French); but that the wampum of that nation was lodged with Kustologo, one of their chiefs, at Venango.



PENN'S HEIRS' GRANT, 1787, WITH THE MEETING-HOUSE Sixth and Smithfield, German Evangelical Congregation



In the evening, late, they came again, and acquainted me that the Shannoahs were not yet arrived, but that it should not retard the prosecution of our journey. He delivered in my hearing the speech that was to be made to the French by Jeskakake, one of their old chiefs, which was giving up the belt the late commandant had asked for and repeating nearly the same speech he himself had done before.

He also delivered a string of wampum to this chief, which was sent by King Shingiss, to be given to Kustologo, with orders to repair to the French, and deliver up the wampum.

He likewise gave a very large string of black and white wampum, which was to be sent up immediately to the Six Nations, if the French refused to quit the land at this warning; which was the third and last time, and was the right of this Jeskakake to deliver.

30th. Last night, the great men assembled at their council house, to consult further about this journey, and who were to go: the result of which was, that only three of their chiefs, with one of their best hunters, should be our convoy. The reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council the 26th, was, that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely; but I rather think they could not get their hunters in.

We set out about nine o'clock with the half king, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Hunter; and traveled on the road to Venango, where we arrived the fourth of December, without anything remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on Ohio; and lies near north about 60 miles from the Loggstown, but more than 70 the way we were obliged to go.

We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazier, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio; but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

They told me that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d they would do it: for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking

of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle, 60 years ago: and the rise of this expedition is, to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto. From the best intelligence I could get, there have been 1,500 men on this side Ontario Lake. But upon the death of the general, all were recalled to about 600 or 700, who were left to garrison four forts, 150 or thereabout in each. The first of them is on French Creek, near a small lake, about 60 miles from Venango, near north northwest; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores are kept, about 15 miles from the other: from this it is 120 miles to the carrying place, at the falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort, at which they lodge their goods in bringing them from Montreal, the place from whence all their stores are brought. The next fort lies about 20 miles from this, on Ontario Lake. Between this fort and Montreal, there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about 600 miles, which, they say, requires no more (if good weather), than four weeks' voyage, if they go in barks or large vessels, so that they may cross the lake: but if they come in canoes, it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore.

5th. Rained excessively all day, which prevented our traveling. Captain Joncaire sent for the half king, as he had but just heard that he came with me. He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him, I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general: but another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company: I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of very great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest; therefore, I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided.

When they came in, there was great pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him, made several trifling presents, and applied liquor so fast, that they were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given.

6th. The half king came to my tent, quite sober, and insisted very much that I should stay and hear what he had to say to the French. I fain would have prevented him from speaking anything until he came to the commandant, but could not prevail. He told me, that at this place a council fire was kindled, where all their business with these people

was to be transacted, and that the management of the Indian affairs was left solely to Monsieur Joncaire. As I was desirous of knowing the issue of this, I agreed to stay; but sent our horses a little way up French Creek, to raft over and encamp; which I knew would make it near night.

About 10 o'clock, they met in council. The king spoke much the same as he had before done to the general, and offered the French speech belt which had before been demanded, with the marks of four towns on it, which Monsieur Joncaire refused to receive, but desired him to carry it to the fort to the commander.

7th. Monsieur La Force, Commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. I had last night left John Davidson (the Indian interpreter) whom I brought with me from town, and strictly charged him not to be out of their company, as I could not get them over to my tent; for they had some business with Kustologo, chiefly to know why he did not deliver up the French speech belt which he had in keeping: but I was obliged to send Mr. Gist over to-day to fetch them, which he did with great persuasion.

At 12 o'clock, we set out for the fort, and were prevented from arriving there until the 11th by excessive rains, snows and bad traveling through many mires and swamps; these we were obliged to pass to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

We passed over much good land since we left Venango, and through several extensive and very rich meadows, one of which, I believe, was nearly four miles in length, and considerably wider in some places.

12th. I prepared early to wait upon the commander, and was received, and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business and offered my commission and letter: both of which he desired me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

This commander is a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman, and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command, immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

At two o'clock, the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, &c., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little

English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it; which I did.

15th. The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making what observations I could.

It is situated on the south, or west fork of French Creek, near the water; and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it which forms a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than 12 feet above it, and sharp at top; with port holes cut for cannon, and loop holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight sixpound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store: round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort, for the soldiers' dwelling, covered, some with bark, and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shops, &c.

I could get no certain account of the number of men here; but according to the best judgment I could form, there are an hundred, exclusive of officers, of which there are many. I also gave orders to the people who were with me, to take exact account of the canoes which were hauled up to convey their forces down in the spring. This they did, and told 50 of birch bark, and 170 of pine; besides many others which were blocked out, in readiness for being made.

14th. As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barrnaby Currin and two others, to make all convenient dispatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing: if not, then to continue down to Shanapin's town, at the forks of the Ohio, and there to wait until we came to cross the Allegheny; intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with me, I endeavored all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes, and hurried them on to execute their intended design. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted them, privately, to the commander and one or two other officers. The half king told me that he offered the wampum to the commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace and trade amicably with them, as a proof of which, he would send some goods immediately down to the Loggstown for them. But I rather think the design of that

is to bring away all our straggling traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer, &c., with them. And what rather confirms this opinion, I was inquiring of the commander by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects. He told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters; and that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it.

I inquired of Captain Reparti about the boy that was carried by this place, as it was done while the command devolved on him, between the death of the late general, and the arrival of the present. He acknowledged that a boy had been carried past: and that the Indians had two or three white men's scalps (I was told by some of the Indians at Venango, eight), but pretended to have forgotten the name of the place where the boy came from, and all the particular facts, though he had questioned him for some hours, as they were carrying past. I likewise inquired what they had done with John Troter and James M'Cloklan, two Pennsylvania traders, whom they had taken with all their goods. They told me that they had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home.

This evening, I received an answer to his honor the governor's letter, from the commandant.

15th. The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor, provision. &c., to be put on board our canoe, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice which he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure: presents, rewards, and everything which could be suggested by him or his officers. I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem, which the most fruitful brain could invent, was practiced to win the half king to their interest; and that leaving him there was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the half king and pressed him in the strongest terms to go; he told me that the commandant would not discharge him until the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill treatment; for keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay; though I soon found it out. He had promised them a present of guns, &c., if they would wait until the morning.

16th. The French were not slack in their inventions to keep the Indians this day also. But as they were obliged, according to promise, to give the present, they then endeavored to try the power of liquor, which I

doubt not would have prevailed at any other time than this; but I urged and insisted with the king so closely upon his word, that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had like to have been staved against rocks; and many times were obliged all hands to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place, the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water; we were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22nd, where we met with our horses.

This creek is extremely crooked. I dare say the distance between the fort and Venango, cannot be less than 130 miles to follow the meanders.

23rd. When I got things ready to set off, I sent for the half king to know whether he intended to go with us, or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and sick, and unable to walk, therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had done before, I told him, I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well, for anything to engage him in their favor; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet at the forks with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his honor the governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provisions, &c., if wanted.

Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require) that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing: therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his honor the governor, I determined to prosecute my journey, the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for

themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town (where we intended to guit the path and steer across the country for Shanapin's town) we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not 15 steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of night without making any stop, that we might get the start, so far, as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shanapins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about 50 yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole day's work: we next got it launched, then went on board it, and set off; but before we were halfway over, we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into 10 feet of water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island,\* to quit our raft and make to it.

The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers, and some of his toes, frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's.†

\*The island referred to, now submerged, was formerly known as Wainwright's Island. †Compare with Christopher Gist's Journal: "Wednesday, 26.—The Major (George Washington) desired me to set out on foot, and leave our company, as the creeks were frozen, and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it, I set out with our packs, like Indians, and traveled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the Major was much fatigued. It was very cold; all the small runs were frozen, that we could hardly get water to drink.

We met here with 20 warriors, who were going to the southward to war; but coming to a place on the head of the great Kanawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped (all but one woman with

"Thursday, 27.—We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to the Murthering town, on the southeast fork of Beaver Creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there, etc. Major Washington insisted on traveling on the nearest way to forks of Allegheny. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We traveled very brisk for 8 or 10 miles, when the Major's feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much north-eastwardly. The Major desired to encamp, to which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and they would scalp us if we lay out; but to go to his cabin, and we should be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he so distrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further; then the Major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow; it was very light, and snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, turned about; the Major saw him point his gun toward us and fire. Said the Major, 'Are you shot?' 'No,' said I. Upon which the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him; but the Major would not suffer me to kill him. We let him charge his gun; we found he put in a ball; then we took care of him. The Major or I always stood by the guns; we made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, 'As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night.' Upon which I said to the Indian, 'I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun.' He said he knew the way to his cabin, and 'twas but a little way. 'Well,' said I, 'do you go home; and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was fairly out of the way, and then we set about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, and fixed our course, and traveled all night, and in the morning we were on the head of Piney Creek.

"Friday, 28.—We traveled all the next day down the said creek, and just at night found some tracks where Indians had been hunting. We parted, and appointed a place a distance off, where to meet, it being then dark. We encamped, and thought ourselves safe enough to sleep.

"Saturday, 29.—We set out early, got to Allegheny, made a raft, and with much difficulty got over to an island, a little above Shannopin's town. The Major having fallen in from off the raft, and my fingers frost-bitten, and the sun down, and very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon that island. It was deep water between us and the shore; but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice."

very light hair) they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians of the Ottawa nation, &c., who did it.

As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of Yohogany, to visit Queen Alliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we pass her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the best present of the two.

Tuesday, the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the 2nd, where I bought a horse, saddle, &c. The 6th, we met 17 horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Wills' Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the first day of December to the 15th, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey, we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

On the 11th, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th, when I waited upon his honor the governor, with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences which happened in my journey.

I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your honor satisfied with my conduct; for that was my aim in undertaking the journey, and chief study throughout the prosecution of it.

Thus the young Major turned in to Governor Dinwiddie his report, his maps and plan of Fort LeBœuf, and the reply from Commandant Legardeuer de Saint Pierre.

French Quebec was wrapped in its winter cold, a little further down Montreal was planning, a little further down still the forts at Presque Isle and LeBœuf were humming with activity, gathering stores and building bateaux and canoes, in that winter of 1754 when George Washington placed

the French commandant's reply in Governor Dinwiddie's hands at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. Here was a fine game of chess.

The French officer wrote that he would transmit the letter of Governor Dinwiddie to his general, the Marquis Duquesne, Governor of Canada, "to whom it better belongs," he wrote, "than to me to set forth the evidence and reality of the rights of the king, my master, upon the lands situated along the River Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the king of Great Britain thereto. His answer shall be a law to me. As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general; and I entreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer."

Legardeuer adds, "I made it my particular care, to receive Mr. Washington with a distinction suitable to your dignity, as well as his own quality and great merit. I flatter myself that he will do me this justice before you, sir, and that he will signify to you, in the manner I do myself, the profound respect with which I am, sir, etc."

The situation confirmed the worst of the Governor's fears. It appeared to threaten all the horrors of border warfare—perhaps the loss to England of her Colonies in America. He saw to it that George Washington's report, that is, his journal of the expedition to Fort LeBœuf, reached the newspapers in England and the Colonies. It was no wonder that it created a sensation in the two countries—it was the first authentic news to the public of French designs in the New World and the Ohio Valley.

Governor Dinwiddie summoned a convention of the House of Burgesses, which appropriated 10,000 pounds to raise troops to drive the French out of the Ohio Valley. Virginia wanted George Washington to head its troops for the protection of the king's lands. The young Major wrote in reply: "The command of the whole force is a charge too great for my youth and inexperience." And the answer came back, "Dear George: I enclose you your commission. God prosper you with it."\* The commission made George Washington Lieutenant-Colonel, second in command. The governor wrote urgent letters to the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Carolinas—and North Carolina responded. He also sent agents to effect alliances with the Southern Indian tribes, the Catawbas and Cherokees. And he appointed a company of militia to build a fort at the Point, in what is now Pittsburgh—the confluence of the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio Rivers—as George Washington had recommended.

This was to help out that first effort of the Ohio Land Company which

<sup>\*</sup> See Owen Wister's Seven Ages of Washington.

had not got far. Captain Trent was given command. John Frazier, of whom we have already heard, and who lived at Turtle Creek, was Lieutenant, and Edward Ward, Ensign.

Trent was building a log storehouse at Redstone (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania) when he got this news, together with orders to recruit 100 men. He set out to Virginia to get them, but had to start west again with only about 40, expecting to collect the others on his way. This he was not able to do. It was the 17th of February, 1754, when he and his men reached the Forks and began the building of the small fort of squared logs—to anticipate the French. They called it Fort Prince George (Second) in honor of the grandson of the king.

Some weeks later Captain Trent was obliged to go back to Will's Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland) for provisions. Lieutenant Frazier was absent and Ensign Ward was left in command with 33 men.

Only their own tools and voices broke through the quiet wilderness sounds on the evening of April 16th, when gliding down the Allegheny River came about 60 bateaux and 300 canoes with 18 pieces of cannon and 400 or 500 men—French, Canadians, Indians—under the command of Captain Contrecœur.

The story goes, according to Washington Irving, that Captain Contrecœur (who was Legardeuer de Saint Pierre's successor) invited Ensign Ward to sup with him that evening. And the next morning the French captain, wishing them a pleasant journey, let the handful of English prisoners go their way. Taking their tools with them they went up to Redstone where the Ohio Land Company had a trading post, Ensign Ward continuing to Williamsburg to give Governor Dinwiddie a full account of the surrender.

So now the French held the Point, commanding the Ohio Valley. They knew the value of what they had got. Before the end of the summer they had 1,400 men there. And they built a good fort, crude, but strong and secure. In honor of the Marquis Duquesne, Governor of Canada (the successor of that Galissonière who had sent Celeron down the rivers), they called it Fort Duquesne.

They sent messengers to the neighboring Indians to tell them of their triumph and to win back their friendship. And they kept a close watch on the English.

The commencement of the fort by the English and its completion by the French as Fort Duquesne is the first settlement of the future Pittsburgh.

Governor Dinwiddie, of course, transmitted Ensign Ward's account of the surrender to the British Government. In Europe war had not been formally declared between the English and the French, and yet with the French capture of this fort, they were practically at war. This was the view taken by Governor Dinwiddie and George Washington.

Washington, now Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of 300 men under Colonel Joshua Fry, was at Will's Creek when news of the French taking of the fort reached him. The regiment was to have reënforced the little fort and tiny garrison. Colonel Fry with half the men had remained at Alexandria to collect more men and supplies, and Washington with the other 150 was making the advance. Now, with this change of affairs, the order was that when the mountains were crossed and the army strengthened attack should be made on the French at Fort Duquesne. This was on royal authority.

Will's Creek and Fort Duquesne lay about 140 miles apart with mountains between. The regiment's first objective, Redstone, was about half way. Roads had to be cut for artillery and provision trains over this broken and mountainous route and Washington's progress was at the rate of four or five miles a day. On May 27th he reached a point on the Laurel Ridge (just below the present Uniontown) which he called Great Meadows. Christopher Gist, who lived near, and messengers from the half king got word to him that the French were in his vicinity. It was true that a small company under Ensign Jumonville had been sent out by the French from Fort Duquesne.

The morning after his encampment, Washington set out to learn the strength of the enemy. He met Jumonville's party, and fired. There was an engagement. Jumonville and nine of his men were killed, 20 were captured, one of them, a young Canadian, escaped. The Colonials lost one.

With that engagement the Seven Years' War in Europe and the French and Indian War in America had begun.

"A cannon shot fired in America could give the signal that set Europe in a blaze," wrote the French Voltaire in a famous line. Accurately, it was volleys from the hunting pieces of a 22-year-old Virginian and a few backwoodsmen.

In his History of the American People, Woodrow Wilson wrote that with the battle at Great Meadows, "Men on both sides the sea knew . . . that war had begun. Young Washington had forced the hands of the statesmen in London and Paris, and all Europe presently took fire from the flame he had kindled. . . . For Europe it was the beginning of the Seven Years' War which was to see the great Frederick of Prussia prove his mastery in the field; which was to spread from Europe to Asia and to Africa; which was to wrest from the French for England both India and America. But for the Colonists in America it was 'The French and Indian War.' Their own continent was the seat of their thoughts."

After this encounter with Jumonville, Washington retired to Great Meadows, expecting another attack from the French. There among the wonderfully beautiful hills the Colonials in three days built a simple square enclosure which they called Fort Necessity.

The best of imaginations could scarcely picture the scenes about that fort. Queen Alliquippa (who had thought the rum "much the best present of the two") and the half king came to join it with 30 Indian families; an independent company arrived from North Carolina, rejoicing Washington's heart. Forty Indians from Ohio who were really spies for the French came and spent days in council. There was a company of the king's soldiers, the "regulars," under command of Captain Mackay, an officer who could have been no comfort. Colonial officers drew less pay and had less prestige with the English than the king's officers of lower rank, which explains the complications suggested in this letter of that time written by Washington to Governor Dinwiddie:

... I have not offered to control Captain Mackay in anything ... but, sir, two commanders are ... incompatible... He thinks you have not a power to give commissions that will command him ... that it is not in his power to oblige his men to work upon the road ... whilst our faithful soldiers are laboriously employed... I am much grieved to find our stores so slow advancing. God knows when we shall be able to do anything for to deserve better of our country.

Washington was watching eagerly for the reënforcements from Colonel Fry who, unknown to him, was dangerously ill at Will's Creek. It was Christopher Gist who brought him news of Colonel Fry's death. Thus George Washington became first in command, after all. From the very beginning he was short of both provisions and ammunition.

Two separate companies of French, approaching against him, joined their forces. One was under the command of Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, the other under de Mercier. In a French council of war they placed de Villiers in command. On they went up the Monongahela passing the trading post of the Ohio Company, and the settlement of Christopher Gist, through the Laurel Hill gorge. They numbered about 900.

It is supposed that Washington's men numbered about 350. It is known that there were six companies of Virginians, Captain Mackay's men and the North Carolinians. No Indians were fighting on this side. For some reason the half king did not join in.

For nine hours in the rain of July 3rd, the Colonials first on the open plain and later behind the entrenchments of Fort Necessity, and the French and Indians concealed in two densely wooded hills, the firing went on. Twelve of the Virginians were killed and 43 wounded. Twenty of de Villiers' men were lost.

Both sides were drenched with rain, hungry, short of provisions and ammunition. At about 8 o'clock in the evening the French proposed a truce. Washington suspected that this was a move to send a spy into his camp, but when the offer was repeated he sent two of his officers, Captain Vanbraam and Ensign Peyroney, to parley.

By midnight the articles of capitulation were signed. The Colonials had lost. They were to be allowed to march out, beating their drums, protected from insult, taking with them their stores except artillery, one piece of which they might retain. They were to free the prisoners taken from Jumonville. Captain Vanbraam and Captain Robert Stobo were given as hostages.

The half king did not approve of any of this. He afterward told Conrad Wesier that the French behaved like cowards and the English like fools.

Early in the morning Washington and his men abandoned little Fort Necessity in their sorry retreat. Their horses and cows had been killed by the Indians, they had to leave most of their baggage behind, and their sick and wounded were a heavy burden. The Indians harassed them along the way. But finally they covered the 52 miles to Will's Creek which was the gateway to the familiar roads of Virginia.

De Villiers victorious, and burning on his way Christopher Gist's settlement, and the storehouse of the Ohio Land Company, reached Fort Duquesne, still to fly the French flag. So not an English flag now waved beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

Dilapidated and defeated, Washington's army reached Virginia. His first engagement with Jumonville was bitterly censured. His ignorance of French had got him into serious trouble in the signing of the articles of war. And Governor Dinwiddie was furious with the turn of events.

"... the alphabet of preparation was going on," writes Owen Wister, "was even forming into words; though as compared with Trenton and Valley Forge, those future days when the weight and the fate of a nation were to hang like a millstone about his neck, such words seem of but one syllable. He tasted defeat in this Great Meadows campaign, and perfidy of colleagues, and the ingratitude of Dinwiddie—severe but wholesome flavors for the future loser of Long Island and Brandywine, the future comrade of Gates, Conway and Charles Lee. Good reason had he likewise to lament his total ignorance of French, since trusting to interpreters led to a number of crooked results, by which his reputation was clouded for a while. So once again he marched back from Duquesne . . . with his new harvest of experience, meager supplies, scarce horses, faithless allies, his conduct questioned—and in the end no

victory. Yet, when all was sifted clear, he came out of it so honorable and efficient amid the general mismanagement, that the Legislature voted him public thanks. His ups and downs in favor also resemble the days to come, when Congress at one moment was for superseding him, and at the next made him military dictator. He got at this time, too, an Indian name, as later, by the British, he came to be known as 'the Old Fox.' . . . Thus he marches to another encounter—the worst yet. Again it is the old backwoods trail, again Great Meadows, and again Venango and Duquesne, whose sounding names seem to ring like bells of omen through the time of Washington's apprenticeship."

Letters from Captain Stobo, held at Fort Duquesne, to Governor Dinwiddie give us a glimpse of life within the fort on that piece of land which now Pittsburgh calls its Golden Triangle. In a letter dated July 28, 1754, he wrote:

... I send this by Monakatoocha's brother-in-law, a worthy fellow, and may be trusted. On the other side you have a draft of the Fort, such as time and opportunity would admit of at this time. The garrison consists of 200 workmen, and all the rest went in several detachments, to the number of 1,000, two days hence. Mercier, a fine soldier, goes so that Contrecœur with a few young officers and cadets, remain here. A lieutenant went off some days ago, with 200 men, for provisions. He is daily expected. When he arrives, the garrison will. La Force is greatly wanted here—no scouting now. He certainly must have been an extraordinary man amongst them—he is so much regretted and wished for. . . . Consider the good of the expedition, without the least regard for us. For my part I would die a thousand deaths, to have the pleasure of possessing this fort but one day. They are so vain of their success at the Meadows, it is worse than death to hear them. Strike this fall as soon as possible. Make the Indians ours. Prevent intelligence. . . . One hundred trusty Indians might surprise this fort. They have access all day, and might lodge themselves so that they might secure the guard with the tomahawks; shut the sally gate, and the fort is ours. None but the guard and Contrecœur stay in the fort. For God's sake communicate this to but few, and them you can trust. Intelligence comes here unaccountably. . . . Pray be kind to this Indian.

Pennsylvanians did not seem to care in the least whether the French occupied the Ohio Valley or not. The population was mainly Quaker or German, and religious principles, personal interests and indifference were

various elements involved. Now, in Virginia, the House of Burgesses could hardly be made to grant money for further efforts.

The Indians were won over to the French. The frontier was exposed to inroads and devastations. Cabins and settlements were burned, inhabitants taken prisoners and sometimes tortured or scalped, others lived in utter degradation. Up to this time England was leaving it to the Colonists to repel the French.

These events in the American wilderness were inevitably creating war between France and England in Europe. Yet each professed overmuch that she was at peace with the other, while each was actually preparing for war. France was tied to her ally, Austria, and fighting her battles on land, while she knew she needed to be fighting England at sea.

After a while Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia and Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania did get some support from their legislatures. Both raised forces. Appeal was made to England. It was listened to.

England sent over General Edward Braddock, Commander-in-Chief of the English Armies in North America. France sent Baron Dieskau with an army to Quebec.

General Braddock with two regiments arrived at Hampton, Virginia, late in February of 1755. He brought with him authority to compel the Colonists in the name of the Crown to join the expedition against the French. Moreover, he brought with him orders from England that all officers of whatever rank, bearing Royal commissions, should take precedence over those holding commissions under the provincial governments. Washington threw over his own commission thus made meaningless, but served with the army. General Braddock met the Colonial governors at Alexandria, Virginia, and in council they agreed to the main points of the aggressive campaign that was proposed.

The General was a man of great bravery, bad temper, angrily impatient of suggestion or criticism. In time he came to lay aside his superciliousness and to respect deeply the young George Washington attached to his staff as aide. He died, "loving the blue cloth of the Virginia volunteers."

Benjamin Franklin, the Postmaster General for the Colonies, came to know Braddock and wrote of him: "This general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a good figure in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high opinion of the validity of regular troops, too mean a one of both Americans and Indians."

The great plan with which General Braddock had come was a threefold campaign. This was to be against Nova Scotia, Crown Point and Niagara, the latter by way of Fort Duquesne. The conquest of Canada was not in the scheme. The point was to resist encroachments of the French on English territory. One division was to take Niagara, an army of Colonials to take

BRADDOCK'S FIELD IN 1803

Crown Point, the New Englanders were to attack Nova Scotia, and he himself would make the most difficult attack, that on Fort Duquesne.

His two regiments were commanded by Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar. They were completed by enlistment in Virginia to 700 men each. When they had got to Will's Creek by the middle of May the entire army was somewhat more than 2,000 men, about one-half belonging to the Royal regiments, and the others to the Colonials. The army included two independent companies from New York.

The general indifference of the Colonies, especially Pennsylvania, to this expedition produced serious difficulties. At Will's Creek, instead of finding the 150 wagons and 300 horses with ample supplies of forage and provisions, which had been promised him, Braddock found 15 wagons, hardly a third of the horses expected, and a scanty supply of damaged provisions. Then it was that Postmaster-General Benjamin Franklin met Braddock at Fredericktown to arrange for the transmission of dispatches between the general and the governors. And it was he who sped progress by appealing to the farmers of Pennsylvania. He got the necessary horses and wagons and on the 10th of June the army recommenced its march on Fort Duquesne.

The New England Colonies, both Braddock and Dinwiddie agreed, showed a fine martial spirit; they thought Virginia did far better than her neighbors; but for Pennsylvania Braddock had only wrath.

The army got to Little Meadows on the 18th of June. Here severe sickness broke out among the men. Through Washington's advice, Braddock left the heavy baggage behind and pushed forward. Colonel Dunbar stayed behind to command the rear division. Washington, ill himself, was in the rear of the forward army, recovering later just in time to take part in the battle at Braddock's Field. In vain did he try to make Braddock see that the battles in the American wilderness were an undertaking different from European campaigns; that Indians concealed behind trees and knolls and thickets could not successfully be met from broad ranks and open fields. The hard won experience of the backwoods meant nothing to the general. To him the old European campaign ways were unquestionably "best." Slowly and laboriously Braddock's army wagons rumbled on toward Fort Duquesne.

Indian runners were keeping the officers at Fort Duquesne informed of every move of Braddock's approach. It is generally stated that the French commandant Contrecœur had a staff of three captains, Beaujeu, Dumad and Ligneris, an uncertain number of French and Canadian soldiers and about 300 Indians.

There is a neat historical puzzle as to who was in command of Fort Duquesne at this time—Contrecœur or Beaujeu. Rev. A. A. Lambing, the

historian, has pointed out \* that the register of baptisms and interments at the fort settles the question in this entry, translated from the French by himself: "M. Lionel Daniel, Esquire, Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain of Infantry, Commander of Fort Duquesne and of the Army, aged about 45 years, who was killed in the battle fought with the English" (dated July 9th). It is an interesting point to pursue with its various possible solutions. Perhaps some day a great novelist will take it for his plot. If so he will have a background that has already captured the imagination of the world: brilliant with the colors of French standards, British redcoats and Virginia blue; rich in the solemn music of British drum corps on the march and chant of Catholic Mass within the fort; tense with the conflicting purposes of three nations of men meeting in primeval forests.

Contrecœur and Beaujeu were both within the fort and the garrison knew that to lose the little place was to lose not only the Ohio Valley but larger issues—tragedy to France. It was the pleading of Beaujeu and his persuasion of the reluctant Indians that gained him the execution of his plan to meet Braddock's expedition outside the fort. In the chapel of the fort Beaujeu took the Holy Communion, then dressed himself as Indian warrior and took command of a strange army, estimated as about 36 French officers, 72 regular soldiers, 146 Canadians and about 637 Indians. This was the estimate of James Smith, 18 years of age, a white captive of the Indians held at the fort.†

Braddock's army forded the Youghiogheny about half a mile below the present Connellsville on the 30th of June. Its route led to the headwaters of Turtle Creek, down that stream to near its mouth, detouring to avoid hills, and to the Monongahela a little below the mouth of the Youghiogheny.

In fording the river, Braddock, feeling that spies were watching his movements, made a military spectacle of the crossing and march forward. Deliberately he flung out the trappings of war, infantry and artillery in proud formation, banners waving, drums and fifes playing "The British Grenadiers." Washington recalled it through his life as one of the grandest spectacles he had ever witnessed.

Nearby on the river bank Washington recognized the now deserted cabin of John Frazier, where he and Christopher Gist found shelter on their return from Fort LeBœuf the morning after perilous crossing of the Allegheny.

Fort Duquesne was about eight miles distant. Dense wilderness lay between, wilderness which is a part of the site now known throughout the planet as "The Workshop of the World." Here it was that Braddock's army was forcing its way through the trees. First came Virginia lighthorsemen

<sup>\*</sup>The Rev. A. A. Lambing's Allegheny County: Its Early History and Subsequent Development.

<sup>†</sup> Theodore Diller's The Place of Washington in the History of Western Pennsylvania.

and guides, and then the ranks with flanking parties, the horses and wagons and the cattle, still moving slowly toward the fort. Gage was leading the advance column.

There was a quick start among the lighthorsemen as a man dressed as an Indian ran across the path. Was it Beaujeu? As he waved his hat instantaneously from surrounding ravines came Indian yells and gunfire until the quiet forest had become alive with French and Indians firing upon the advance column and with so sure an aim that the British were falling from the first volley.

This battle of Braddock's Field, known in world history as Braddock's Defeat, has been described over and over again in its utter ghastliness. Gage's column holding steady; the immediate fall of brave Beaujeu; Sir Peter Halket falling dead and his son, in raising his body, killed in the same moment; the Virginians skillful and courageous, familiar with wilderness tactics, prevented from saving the day by Braddock's insistence on the open field; Indian shrieks drowning out the early English shouts of "God save the King!"; troops breaking ranks and Braddock riding among them in fury, with four horses shot under him and bullet holes through his clothing, beating with his sword those whom he found fighting from behind trees; Gates and Gage, later to be opposing generals in the War of the Revolution, both wounded; Gladwin, who later defended Detroit against Pontiac, also wounded; utter confusion everywhere; scores and scores of dead.

Out of 86 British officers, 63 were killed or disabled. Out of 1,373 noncommissioned officers and men about 459 were wounded. In the next scene we see Braddock sounding the retreat; the hopeless attempt at order; Braddock himself mortally wounded at last, still giving commands, still planning another stand against the French; the regulars leaving behind artillery, most of the provisions and baggage, even their general's private papers; and Braddock's field in the end left to the pillage of the Indians.

James Smith, the white captive in the fort, whose life was spared when his companions were scalped by Indians, left a description of the scenes at Fort Duquesne that day of Braddock's defeat:

In the afternoon I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, I found it was the voice of joy and triumph, and I feared that they had received what I called bad news. I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch, I went to one of them and asked him what was the news. He told me that a runner had just arrived who said Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him and were concealed behind trees and gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English; and that they saw the English

falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape there would not be one man left alive before sundown. Some time after this, I heard a number of scalp-hallos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed that they had a great number of bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that, another company came in, which seemed to me that almost every man of this company was carrying scalps. After this came another company with a number of wagon horses and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming and those that had arrived kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which was accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters, so that it appeared to me as though the infernal regions had broken loose.

About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny River, opposite the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of the men; they tied him to a stake, and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screaming in the most doleful manner, the Indians in the meantime yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodging, both sore and sorry. When I came to my lodging I saw Russell's "Seven Sermons," which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present of to me.

The French loss by comparison had been slight.

When the retreating army reached the familiar old stopping place at Christopher Gist's abandoned farm, six miles from where Dunbar in charge of army stores was encamped, they met a detachment with wagons and provisions which Dunbar was sending to them. And here occurred another rout when the detachment heard of the defeat. Retreat was again sounded and no one knows by whom. Dunbar assumed command, and the broken army went on East.

Braddock died on Sunday evening, July 13th, 1755, at eight o'clock. George Washington, who left kind and just words of this commander, read the burial service from the Book of Common Prayer. Men, horses and wagons passed over the grave that it might not be discovered by the Indians. This grave is not far from Uniontown, and is visible to the hundreds of motorists passing daily on the national pike.

Dunbar refused to defend the frontier, marching to Philadelphia instead. In the Colonies was consternation, and in the settlements utter, well-justified terror, realized in smoke and ruins and blood. The French flag still flew over Fort Duquesne. Future Pittsburgh was yet French.

## CHAPTER III

PERIOD OF ENGLISH TRIUMPH AND DOMINATION



## CHAPTER III

## PERIOD OF ENGLISH TRIUMPH AND DOMINATION

Fort Duquesne Becomes New-World Storm Center—Pitt's Accession in London Electrifies Colonies—He Determines to Take Fort Duquesne—Expedition Dispatched Under General Forbes with Colonel Bouquet Commanding Advance Guard—Quarrel Between Washington and Forbes as to Roads—Major Grant's Foolhardy Attack on the Fort—Heroic November Advance by Forbes—Fort Duquesne Evacuated and Burned by French November 25, 1758—Victorious English Name Fort Duquesne Pittsburgh—Construction of the New Fort Pitt—Indian Resentment of White Occupation Leads to Pontiac's Rebellion—Pontiac's Rebellion Crushed at Battle of Bushy Run—Attempt to Placate Indians in Conference with Six Nations at Fort Pitt—Outbreak of War for Independence—Pittsburgh Menaced More During Revolutionary Struggle by the Indians Than by British.

Truly that wild little French Fort Duquesne driven into the forks of the Ohio was a storm center. From the day of Braddock's defeat no human life was safe beyond the old frontiers. Tomahawk and scalping knife were in eager hands and national and racial hatreds did their worst.

George Washington with one regiment was supposed to protect 300 miles of forest frontier. He urged insistently the necessity of another attack on the fort, but could persuade none. "I am too little acquainted, Sir," he writes to Governor Dinwiddie, "with pathetic language, to attempt a description of the people's distresses . . . but . . . I would be a willing offering to savage fury, and die by inches to save a people."

The Governor had turned against Washington, and made things most uncomfortable, but the young soldier of 26 had "curbed himself to patience, or the semblance of it."

General demoralization had followed Braddock's disaster. The Pennsylvania Assembly bickered so much with its Governor about expenses of protection, that it had none for its outlying settlers. Colonies quarreled among themselves and with each other. Even had they been able to combine in harmony, they could not have checked the victorious French and Indians without help from England.

The one offensive of the time was John Armstrong's successful raid

of the Indian town Kittanning on the east bank of the Allegheny about 45 miles above Fort Duquesne. It was on the route of the French from the lakes and was of importance to both French and Indians. Its old French name was Attique. Armstrong's purpose was to strike a blow against the Delaware chief, "Captain Jacobs," one of the most ferocious of the leaders, and to free prisoners that were held there. It is for this John Armstrong that Armstrong County is named.

George the Second declared war against France in May of 1756. In order to divide the French forces as well as to help the Colonies he planned an American campaign. But it was pitifully incompetent and the Earl of Loudon, the Commander-in-Chief, did not reach America until the latter part of July. His coming did not help the settlers for his efforts were directed against the French posts on the head of Lake Champlain. The settlers' best hope was the Colonial militia.

Suddenly both Europe and America experienced a kind of shock. William Pitt came into control of foreign and military affairs in England, and immediately a new energy was felt in people and events. Now, the capture of Fort Duquesne was known to be important business. And for this business William Pitt sent to America Brigadier General John Forbes.

Among the ways he signed his letters were Jo. Forbes; Jo. Fforbes; and Jo. fforbes. And these letters reveal him for what he was—a soldier of "enduring energy and vital patience." \* As a young man he had been a student of medicine and was at the time of his coming here 48 years old. He was a Scotsman, a well-bred man of the world, of simple tastes and frank, plain dealing with everyone. Early in the campaign he began to suffer from a dangerous and extremely painful malady which would have rendered almost anyone else utterly incapacitated. The Colonists deeply respected him and liked him as well.

His expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758 was one of three campaigns in America by which William Pitt hoped to overpower the French. It was practically the same plan that had been in existence for three years. The British under Amherst took Louisburg in July, but Abercrombie's forces suffered severe loss at Crown Point and Ticonderoga the same month.

General Forbes reached Philadelphia in April of 1758 and waited for his army. His expected battalion of Highlanders had not yet arrived and the Colonials were not yet enlisted. But by the end of June they were on the march.

Unlike Braddock, Forbes was willing to learn. He wrote to Colonel Bouquet, his second in command, that "in this country we must learn the art of war from enemy Indians or anybody else who has seen it carried on here." Except for Washington's men and a few others the whole army from

<sup>\*</sup> Sarah H. Killikelly's History of Pittsburgh: Its Rise and Progress.



WILLIAM PITT



general to drummer-boy were total strangers to the French and Indian wilderness warfare. Forbes found some of his Colonials with old muskets whose locks were tied on with a string; some had their own hunting pieces; some had only sticks; some had never fired a gun in their lives.

It was an army different from Braddock's in many respects. In the first place Pitt had ordered that the Colonial officers take equal rank with the British according to grade. There was a new corps, called the Royal Americans, made up largely of Germans from Pennsylvania under European officers; troops from Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina under Washington, and 1,200 Highlanders—in all probably between 6,000 and 7,000 men. The Virginians wore hunting-shirts; the Royal Americans wore the regulation scarlet, and the Highlanders their kilts and plaid.

One would like boldly to insert here the entire 22nd chapter of Francis Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe for its wealth of incident about this campaign; as also General Forbes's letters, written during the expedition (most of them owned by the British Museum), which have been compiled by Irene Stewart, Reference Librarian of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh for the Allegheny County Committee of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Interested Pittsburghers find both volumes of rare delight.

• Parkman tells us much of the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederic Post, who was sent by Forbes into the enemy territory to pacify hostile Indian tribes. Post spoke several Indian dialects, had married a Christian Indian woman, and had the high esteem and confidence of those who knew him. "He accepted his terrible mission," writes Parkman, "and calmly prepared to place himself in the clutches of the tiger. He was a plain German, upheld by a sense of duty and a single-hearted trust in God." Amid every possible danger from both French and Indians, and through adventures that make melodrama seem mild indeed, he successfully accomplished his mission.

Early in July Colonel Bouquet, who was a brilliant Swiss officer, with an advance guard reached the hamlet of Raystown, which is now the town of Bedford, Pennsylvania, and there pitched his tents. General Forbes had been in Philadelphia collecting provisions, horses and wagons. On his way to meet his forces at Raystown he had disappointments and delays at Carlisle and Shippensburg, and was so ill that much of the way he was carried on a kind of litter which he described as made of a hurdle slung between two horses.

The pressing point that had to be decided at once before his arrival was the route that must be taken from Raystown to Fort Duquesne. The dispute on this question is one of the most interesting incidents of the French and Indian wars. For General Forbes would have it, that even though they must cut their road over mountains and through the forests inch by inch,

as was literally necessary, they should follow the shortest direct line (which lay through Pennsylvania) to Fort Duquesne. And George Washington would have it that the expedition would come to sheer ruin if they did not follow the old road—that he by this time knew so well! Braddock's Road they called it.

From Raystown it would require a march of about 35 miles to Fort Cumberland (the old Will's Creek) to reach the Braddock Road. While the shorter route promised readier and more abundant supplies of food and fodder, the advantage would be offset, Washington urged, by the time and labor required to build a new one. Colonel Byrd of Virginia backed up George Washington; and Colonel Bouquet backed up General Forbes.\*

Undoubtedly it was to the advantage of Pennsylvania to have the new road. And undoubtedly, as Parkman says, "the Old Dominion did not wish to see a highway cut for her rival to those rich lands of the Ohio which she called her own. . . . Ardent Virginian (George Washington) as he was, there is no cause to believe that his decision was based on any but military reasons; but Forbes thought otherwise, and found great fault with him. Bouquet did him more justice. 'Colonel Washington,' he writes to the General, 'is filled with a sincere zeal to aid the expedition, and is ready to march with equal activity by whatever way you choose.'"

General Forbes wrote to William Pitt from "Carlisle Camp," west of Susquehanna, July 10th, 1758:

I am in hopes of finding a better way over the Allegheny Mountain, than that from Fort Cumberland which Genll. Braddock took. If so I shall shorten both my March, and my labour of cutting the road about 40 miles, which is a great consideration. For were I to pursue Mr. Braddock's route, I should save but little labour, as that road is now a brushwood, by the sprouts from the old stumps, which must be cut down and made proper for Carriages, as well as any other Passage that we must attempt.

The Cherokee Indians being but bad Judges of time, came too early in the year to our Assistance, and therefore had not patience to wait our time, so that from the fickleness of their temper the greatest part of them—went home three weeks ago. You may believe, Sir, that no method was left untryed to detain them, but they are like Sheep, where one leaps, all the rest follow.

We have still near 200 that remain, and are so much attached to us that they have given the little nothing they have into our Stores as a pledge of their Services to us during the Campaign.

<sup>\*</sup>See Archer Butler Hulbert's The Old Glade (Forbes's) Road (Pennsylvania State road).

This is owing in a great degree to Mr. Byrd of Virginia to whom I should do a great injustice if I was silent upon the Occasion. As he has a very large and opulent fortune in Virginia he joined the Earl of Loudon early after his arrival in America, Accompany'd the Army to Halifax last year, and sett a noble example to all the Gentlemen of the Continent, who had either inclination or abilities to serve the King and their Country. . . .

Again he writes to William Pitt from Fort Loudon, September 6th:

In my last letter I had the honour to acquaint you, of my proceedings in the new road across the Alleganey Mountains, and over Laurell Hill, (leaving the Rivers Yohiegany and Monongahela to my left hand) strait to the Ohio, by which I have saved a great deal of way, and prevented the misfortunes that the overflowing of those rivers might occasion. . . .

My advanced post consisting of 1500 Men, are now in possession of a strong post 9 Miles on the other side of Laurell Hill, and about 40 from Fort Du Quesne, nor had the Enemy ever suspected my attempting such a road till very lately, they having been all along securing the strong passes, and fords of the rivers, upon General Braddock's route. . . .

If it should please God to grant Success to His Majesty's Arms in their Attempts upon the Ohio, and which I think can't well fail, I shall be greatly at a loss how to dispose of Fort Du Quesne, whether to blow it up, and destroy it and the whole Settlements thereabout, or to keep it and leave a Garrison there for the Winter. The execution of the first is as easy, as the second appears to be attended with many difficulties, all which must naturally occur to you, from its great distance from any of the inhabited parts of those Provinces, and consequently the great difficulties of either supporting it or supplying it with Necessaries during a long severe Winter. . . .

Again reverting to the choice of roads, Forbes writes with feeling to Colonel Bouquet from "Raestown," September 23rd:

Col. Stephens writes Col. Washington that he is told by everybody that the road from Loyal Hannon to the Ohio and the French fort is now impracticable. For what reason, or why, he writes thus I do not know; but I see Col. Washington and my friend, Col. Byrd, would rather be glad this was true than other ways, seeing the other road (their favorite scheme) was not followed out. I told them plainly that, whatever they thought, yet I did aver that, in our prosecuting the present road, we had proceeded from the best intelligence that could be got for the good and convenience of the army, without any views to oblige any

one province or another; and added that those two gentlemen were the only people that I had met with who had shewed their weakness in their attachment to the province they belong to, by declaring so publickly in favour of one road without their knowing anything of the other, having never heard from any Pennsylvania person one word about the road; and that, as for myself, I could safely say—and believed I might answer for you—that the good of the service was the only view we had at heart, not valuing the provincial interest, jealousys, or suspicions, one single twopence; and that, therefore, I could not believe Col. Stephen's descriptions untill I had heard from you, which I hope you will very soon be able to disprove.

I fancy what I said more on this subject will cure them from coming upon this topic again. . . . The road forward to the Ohio must be reconnoitered again in order to be sure of our further progress, for it would grieve me sadly that Mr. Washington or Mr. Byrd should have any reason to find fault with that, which without their knowledge that have so publickly exclaimed against. . . . The Congress at Easton had the most favourable appearance, as there was 500 Indians already come in, but what they will now do, God knows. Pray make up a hovell or hutt for me at L. Hannon or any other of the posts with a fire place if possible. Sir John Sinclair says that if I say he was in the wrong to Colonel Stevens, he will readily acknowledge it. I do not choose meddling, but I think Colonel Stevens might act, and trust to Sir John's acknowledgment.

I am, dear sir, Your most obedient servant,

Jo. Forbes.

History, supported by Washington's own letters, confirms Bouquet's judgment of Washington's complete disinterestedness. But Forbes's human feelings can be sympathized with, especially when after a while he thought "Mr. Washington and Mr. Byrd" might have been right after all. His own decision for the new Pennsylvania road, however, appears to history completely justified by the army's being spared the autumn floods of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela.

Sir John Sinclair, referred to in the last letter, affords a little "comic relief" to the somber drama of Forbes's campaign. He was the blustering Quartermaster General who had gone on ahead with the roadmakers and wrote back his requirements: "Pickaxes, crows and shovels; likewise more whisky. Send me the newspapers and tell my black to send me a candlestick and half a loaf of sugar." When Lieutenant Colonel Stevens of the Virginians told him he would break his sword rather than longer serve

under him, Sir John wrote: "As I had not sufficient strength to take him by the neck from among his own men, I was obliged to let him have his own way, that I might not be the occasion of bloodshed." He did, however, have him arrested and replaced by Major Lewis.

Toiling inch by inch, blasting, hewing, digging, burrowing through swamps and underbrush, laying supports for tracks on the steep declivities, up and down over the Allegheny and Laurel Ridge Mountains, Forbes's roadmakers were moving toward Fort Duquesne. At Raystown the army erected Fort Bedford. And on the west base of Laurel Hill on the Loyal Hannon or Loyal Hannah, as it was sometimes written, they established the fortified camp that they called Fort Ligonier. The place is now Ligonier, Pennsylvania.

The army had taken warning of Braddock's method and fate and by policy as well as necessity moved by slow stages, establishing these fortified camps, and bringing up after them ammunition, stores and baggage. They planned that when they would be almost upon Fort Duquesne they would rush upon it with all force, free of impediments. The camp on the Loyal Hannon Creek was to be used as a base of supplies for the final advance. But beside all this, Forbes had a shrewd idea that long delays would wear out the patience of the French and Indians who would, after a while, want to go to their homes. Also, he was framing events through Frederic Post and other agencies for the convention at Easton of the Indian tribes to secure peace among themselves and friendliness toward the English.

Vaudreuil, the French Governor of Canada, knew through prisoners of Forbes's march and wrote boastfully to his Colonial Minister that he had provided for the safety of Fort Duquesne, and had sent provisions in abundance; also that a stronger fort was needed on the Ohio but could not be built until after the peace, when he would take care to build such an one as would keep the English out of the country. But it was not many weeks until he was writing Ligneris, the Commandant at Fort Duquesne, eager for news. Vaudreuil told him that he had sent all the help he could, and had ordered troops to be sent him from Niagara, Detroit and Illinois with Western Indians—Hurons, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Miamis and other tribes; and that he was afraid the English would not attack the fort until the Indians had grown tired of waiting.

As a matter of fact, it was what some of the Indians actually did—got tired, and went home from the fort. But there were many left, and Forbes had no idea of their number or strength. And his army desperately needed Indian scouts and skirmishers. His letters are full of his troubles with them. Once again he is annoyed with his good friend "Burd" who had found a band of 60 warriors who were willing to join the army if they would go by the Braddock road! Parkman tells us, as do Forbes's letters, that a con-

siderable number of Indians joined the army but that nearly all went off when the stock of presents for them was exhausted.

The Indians reported to Forbes that their numbers were equal to his own, but one did not know if this were the truth. Forbes sent out a number of Indian scouting parties of which one was described by the young Virginian officer in command who went out with a sergeant and five Indians. When they got near the fort the Indians put on their warpaint and performed their incantations. The chief warrior produced from an otter-skin bag certain charms and talismans which he tied about the necks of the others. On that of the officer, he hung the otter-skin itself. To the sergeant he parceled out some paint. Then he told them all that none could be shot, since the charms would turn the balls from them. He shook hands with all, and told them to fight like men. So together the little band mounted the high ground which was later to be known as Grant's Hill, where the Pittsburgh Court House stands, and from there, themselves hidden among trees, had a good view of Fort Duquesne. "They saw plainly that the reports of the French force were greatly exaggerated."

The French General Montcalm, writing to a friend, the Chevalier de Bourlamaque, tells how affairs were going on within that fort: "Mutiny among the Canadians, who want to go home; the officers busy with making money, and stealing like mandarins. Their commander sets the example, and will come back with 300 or 400 francs; the pettiest ensign who does not gamble, will have 1,000, 1,200 or 1,500 francs. The Indians do not like Ligneris, who is drunk every day."

Thus every day was sealing the more certainly the fate of Fort Duquesne. Fort Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, fell before Bradstreet on the 27th of August. This meant the loss to France of Lake Ontario, the loss to Fort Duquesne of its supplies. New France was cut in two.

Yet the very next month Forbes's army had a serious backset. Before Forbes reached Ligonier, Colonel Bouquet permitted Major Grant, at his insistent request, to go with Major Lewis and about 800 men to reconnoiter Fort Duquesne, free the prisoners there, and "discourage" the French. There are many different descriptions of this frightfully managed affair, including Major Grant's own detailed letter to General Forbes, written while he was yet a prisoner from the encounter, in which he says: "I may have committed mistakes without knowing them, but if I was sensible of them I most certainly should tell you in what I thought I had done wrong. I am willing to flatter myself that my being a prisoner will be no detriment to my promotion in case vacancies should happen in the army, and it is to be hoped that the proper steps will be taken to get me exchanged as soon as possible." None of the historians seem able to resist quoting this paragraph. The letter is given in full in the collection of General Forbes's letters referred to.

Another famous remark of Major Grant's was in a speech in the British Parliament in 1775 in which he said he knew the Americans well, and that "they would never dare face an English army, being destitute of every requisite for good soldiers."

A brass plate on Pittsburgh's Court House, on the old Grant's Hill, reminds us gently of that night of savage warfare. We shall see the Indian campfires and hear the British drums more clearly through a letter of Colonel Bouquet's than from any paraphrase. He writes to General Amherst on September 17th:

... I made some objection to letting him (Major Grant) go, but he insisted, and influenced by his reasons and the situation in which we found ourselves I consented and countermanded the two parties who were under arms. Having sent for Col. Burd and Major Lewis (Lieut. Col. Stephen being under arrest I told his Major to inform him of the affair). I informed these gentlemen of the proposition made by Major Grant to procure for us sure intelligence which would give us some advantage over the Indians, who insulted us every day with impunity, and that this would be the way to cure our men of the fear which they had of them. Those who had escaped from their attacks had thrown down their arms that they might fly faster. . . . On the 9th he departed, and I joined him on the 10th at the post, where Lieutenant-Colonel Dagworthy should have stopped. I remained here all night and saw him depart on the 11th in good order. This post being nearly ready for defense, I returned to the camp. Instead of this plan, which did not compel him to fight, or which gave him in that case every advantage of position, and choice of ground with all his troops together, here is what he appears to have done: Having arrived at the height only one fire was seen, but Ensign Chew, who had reconnoitered, said that all the Indians lay in the block houses, which were easy to force. He sent there Major Lewis with 400 men; some confusion being among the troops he feared he had been discovered and returned to Major Grant, who sent there at once two companies of Highlanders. They visited the block houses, but found no one. They put out the fire and returned. The Major, according to his orders, should have retired, but unfortunately he thought that the garrison was too weak to dare risk a sortie, and in consequence he remained on the height (Grant's Hill) untill morning. He then beat the reveille in different places, and ordered Major Lewis to place himself in ambuscade with the baggage and 100 R. A., 150 Virginians, 200 Highlanders, 100 'Maryl' and 100 Penns. were placed on the heights, and he sent Captain McDonald with 100 Highlanders, drums beating, straight to the fort. Some one had seen a party leave the garrison as though they would cut off the retreat. Hardly had McDonald gone half the distance, when he heard the whoop of the Indians, followed immediately by a sortie of nearly 300 French and Indians, who fell upon them. He killed so many of these people at his first fire that they turned aside and surrounded him. He pierced through them, where he was killed. The companies of Monro and McKenzie, who descended to their assistance, were put in disorder and the Captain killed. As the enemy continually received reinforcements, all the troops were soon engaged, and the fire sustained a long time after our men vielded. Major Lewis, who was distant about two miles, heard the firing. Urged by his officers and the soldiers he quit his post to go to their assistance. He arrived just at the moment our men retired in disorder towards his post. He had gained a height which had put his men out of breath, and, stopping, they found themselves under fire of the enemy. The action was, nevertheless, still very lively and for a long time disputed. At last our men yielded, and there remained only a scene of confusion, notwithstanding all the efforts of Major Grant to rally them. They would have been cut to pieces probably had not Captain Bullet of the Virginians, with 100 men, sustained the combat with all their power, until, having lost two-thirds of his men, he was driven to the shore of the river, where he found the poor Major. He urged him to retire, but he said he would not quit the field of battle as long as there was a man who would fight. My heart is broke (said he) I shall never outlive this day. They were soon surrounded, and the Frenchmen, calling him by his name, offered quarter. He would not accept it. They would not fire on him, wishing to take him prisoner. Captain Bullet continued firing. At last they also fired and drove his party into the Ohio, where a great number were drowned. Bullet escaped, but I have no news of the Major. . . .

... It appears from the testimony of the Indians and of our men that the French have lost many men, mostly Indians. The French did not try to kill but to make prisoners. . . .

The Provincials appear to have done well and their good men are better in this war than the regular troops.

I will not add any reflections on this affair, they are too unpleasant. . . .

I have the honor, to be, Sir,

Your very obedt. servant,

HENRY BOUQUET.

General Forbes was very ill. All the tedious, painful preparation for the final attack seemed lost. In his letter to Colonel Bouquet from "Raestown," September 23rd he writes of this disaster:

SIR:—Your letter of the 17th, from Loval Hanning, I read with no less surprise than real concern, as indeed I could not well believe that such an attempt would have been carried into execution without my previous knowledge and concurrence, as you well know my opinion, and dread of the consequences of running any risque of the troops meeting with the smallest check. As well as my fears of alienating and altering the disposition of the Indians, at this critical time, who (tho' fickle and wavering), yet were seemingly well disposed to embrace our alliance and protection. But I need not recapitulate to you my many good reasons against any attempt of this kind being made at this time; nor repeat to you how happy your assurances made me, of all my orders and directions having been (and would be) complyed with. For which I rested secure, and plumed myself in our good fortune, in having the head of our army advanced, as it were, to the beard of the enemy, and secured in a good post well guarded and cautioned against surprise. Our roads almost completed; our provisions all upon wheels, and all this without any loss on our side, and our small army all ready to join and act in a collected body whenever we pleased to attack the enemy, or that any favorable opportunity presented itself to us.

Thus the breaking in upon—not to say disappointments of—our hitherto so fair and flattering hopes of success touches me most sensibly. . . .

There are two wounded Highland officers just now arriv'd, who give so lame an account of how matters proceeded, or any kind of description of the ground, that one can draw nothing from them—only that my friend Grant had most certainly lost the *tra mon tane*, and by his thirst of fame, brought on his own perdition, and run a great risque of ours, which was far wide of the promises he made me at Carlisle, when soliciting to command a party, which I would not agree to; and, very contrary to his criticisms upon Gen. Abercromby's late affair, has unhappily fallen into the individual same error, by his inconsiderate and rash proceeding.

The French and English were both in desperate condition in November. At Fort Duquesne Commandant Ligneris had had to cut down his forces as supplies were no longer coming down the lakes. His Indian allies were deflecting and the ill-fed garrison awaited the English attack.

For Forbes, there was every manner of discouragement, every manner of army detail forced to his personal attention and this coupled with intense

physical suffering. Even Nature herself seemed set against him as autumn torrents demolished the mountain roads and turned the level ones to muddy swamps. "Above, below, around, all was trickling, oozing, pattering, gushing. In the miserable encampments the starved horses stood steaming in the rain, and the men crouched, disgusted, under their dripping tents, while the drenched picket-guard in the neighboring forest paced dolefully through black mire and spongy mosses. The rain turned to snow; the descending flakes clung to the many-colored foliage, or melted from sight in the trench of half-liquid clay that was called a road. The wheels of the wagons sank in it to the hub, and to advance or retreat was alike impossible." So writes the prince of historians of French and Indian wars, Francis Parkman, who makes us realize as perhaps no other can the quality of General Forbes—"the steadfast and all-enduring soldier."

Carried in his litter he got to Loyal Hannon early in November where the whole army was then gathered. Conditions were so discouraging that a council of officers resolved that it was useless to try to do more that year. But when news was brought in a few days later by prisoners of the weakness of Fort Duquesne, Forbes ordered an advance.

It was the 18th of November when 2,500 picked men began their march, unburdened except with blankets and knapsacks and a few pieces of light artillery. Washington and Armstrong cut the road in advance to within a day's march of the fort. While they were encamped on the night of the 24th, the guards heard at midnight a strange sound, dull and heavy, booming through the wilderness.

In the morning the march was resumed. First, a strong advance guard. Forbes next, carried in his litter. Then troops in three parallel columns, the Highlanders in the center under Colonel Montgomery; Royal Americans and Colonials right and left under Bouquet and Washington.\*

There was a bleak November wind and they moved slowly among the trees and tangled brush, guided by drums at the head of the columns. During the last three miles they had passed the scattered bodies of those killed in Grant's defeat two months before. At dusk they came on open plain, and there before them within surrounding hills they saw the confluence of the three rivers—the Allegheny, the Monongahela and the Ohio, and on that point of land between them, Fort Duquesne. Fort Duquesne—empty, ruined, deserted; fortifications blown up—barracks and storehouses burned.

So it was on that cold Saturday evening November 25th, 1758, on the point of Pittsburgh's Golden Triangle.

A few Indians who lingered about the ruins told how the French had

<sup>\*</sup>From description by Parkman from letter of a British officer in the expedition dated February 25, 1759, published in the Gentlemen's Magazine.

gone, some by river and some overland, in different directions toward French posts.

The hand of veteran Colonel Armstrong raised the British flag over the deserted fort. General Forbes named the place Pittsburgh, in honor of William Pitt. Twenty-six-year-old Washington must have recalled the day five years before on his first military errand to Fort LeBœuf when he wrote, "As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the waters and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort." He had now had five years of wilderness experience—five years of defeat leading to this evening when the British flag floated over the remains of the fort, at the Gateway to the West—at Pittsburgh.

And Forbes, his almost superhuman task accomplished, could soon now be at rest.

In Canada, gallant French Montcalm and gallant English Wolfe were giving all they had to France and England. But with Fort Duquesne surrendered, it was inevitable that America was to be an English-speaking nation.

General Forbes wrote to William Pitt:

Pittsbourgh, 27th Novemr. 1758.

SIR,

I do myself the Honour of acquainting you that it has pleased God to crown His Majesty's Arms with Success over all His Enemies upon the Ohio, by my having obliged the Enemy to burn and abandon Fort Du Quesne, which they effectuated on the 25th: and of which I took possession next day, the Enemy having made their escape down the River towards the Mississippi in their Boats, being abandoned by their Indians, whom I had previously engaged to leave them, and who now seem all willing and ready to implore His Majesty's most Gracious Protection. So give me leave to congratulate you upon this great Event, of having totally expelled the French from this prodigious tract of Country, and of having reconciled the various tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

It would be too tedious for a Letter to enter into the detail how this Affair has been brought to a conclusion, I have therefore thought it proper and necessary to send over to you Brigade Major Halkett whose serving with me all this Campaign, and knowing from whence Events arose will be able to give you a true & succinct Account of the whole affair from the beginning. . . .

This far I had wrote at Fort Du Quesne upon the 27th: Novemr. since which time I have never, either been able to write, or capable to dictate a letter. . . .

... I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort Du

Quesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us Masters of the place. Nor could I help using the same freedom in the naming of two other Forts that I built (Plans of which I send you) the one Fort Ligonier & the other Bedford. I hope the name Fathers will take them under their Protection. In which case these dreary deserts will soon be the richest and most fertile of any possest by the British in No. America. I have the honour to be with great regard and Esteem Sir,

Your most obedt, & most humble servt.

Jo. Forbes.

Philadelphia, 21st January 1759.

Colonel Washington wrote to Governor Fauquier of Virginia:

Camp, at Fort Duquesne, 28 November, 1758.

SIR.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather on which it stood, was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th instant. The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away by the light of it, at night, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, according to our best information. This possession of the fort has been matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes, than the weakness of the enemy, want of provisions, and the defection of their Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at Loyal Hanna, when we despaired of proceeding further. A council of war had determined that it was not advisable to advance this season beyond that place; but the above information caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery. We have thus happily succeeded. It would be tedious, and I think unnecessary, to relate every trivial circumstance that has happened since my last. To do this, if needful, shall be the employment of a leisure hour, when I shall have the pleasure to pay my respects to your Honour.

The General intends to wait here a few days to settle matters with the Indians, and then all the troops, except a sufficient garrison to secure the place, will march to their respective governments. I give your Honour this early notice, that your directions relative to the troops of Virginia may meet me on the road. I cannot help reminding you, in this place, of the hardships they have undergone, and of their present naked

condition, that you may judge if it is not essential for them to have some little recess from fatigue, and time to provide themselves with necessaries. At present they are destitute of every comfort of life. If I do not get your orders to the contrary, I shall march the troops under my command directly to Winchester. They may then be disposed of as you shall afterwards direct.

General Forbes desires me to inform you, that he is prevented by a multiplicity of affairs, from writing to you so fully now as he would otherwise have done. He has written to the commanding officers stationed on the communication from hence to Winchester, relative to the conduct of the Little Carpenter, a chief of the Cherokees, the purport of which was to desire, that they would escort him from one place to another, to prevent his doing any mischief to the inhabitants.

This fortunate, and, indeed, unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects. The Delawares are suing for peace, and I doubt not that other tribes on the Ohio will follow their example. A trade, free, open, and on equitable terms, is what they seem much to desire, and I do not know so effectual a way of riveting them to our interests, as by sending goods immediately to this place for that purpose. It will, at the same time, be a means of supplying the garrison with such necessaries as may be wanted; and, I think, the other colonies, which are as greatly interested in the support of this place as Virginia, should neglect no means in their power to establish and maintain a strong garrison here. Our business, without this precaution, will be but half finished; while, on the other hand, we shall obtain a firm and lasting peace with the Indians, if this end is once accomplished.

General Forbes is very assiduous in getting these matters settled upon a solid basis, and has great merit for the happy issue to which he has brought our affairs, infirm and worn down as he is. At present I have nothing further to add, but the strongest assurances of my being your Honour's most obedient and most humble servant.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It is natural to suppose that General Forbes, Colonel Washington, Colonel Bouquet and the other officers found the search of the ruins of Fort Duquesne of exciting interest, on that cold Saturday night of November 25th, 1758. Captain John Haslet, writing the next day to the Rev. Dr. Allison, described the general lay-out. He said that there were two forts about 200 yards apart, the one standing at the edge of the Point being "built with immense labor, small but a great deal of very strong works collected into a little room. . . . It is square and has two ravelins gabions at each corner. The

other fort stands on the bank of the Allegheny, in the form of a parallelogram, but not so strong as the other."

There were several unfinished outworks and among the débris of burned houses 30 chimney stacks still standing. One of the magazines had been completely ruined by the explosion and the other, Haslet said, held 16 barrels of ammunition, "a prodigious quantity of old carriage iron, barrels of guns, about a cart load of scalping knives."

A great many Indians were gathered on the island waiting to talk with General Forbes, and the English soldiers were making rafts to bring them over. Haslet closes, "Whether the General will think of repairing the ruins or leaving any of the troops here, I have not yet heard. Mr. Beatty is appointed to preach a thanksgiving sermon, for the remarkable superiority of his Majesty's arms. We left all our tents at Loyalhanna, and every convenience except a blanket and knapsack. You will excuse the errors of haste, and believe me to be, Rev'd sir, your most obedient servant, John Haslet."

Mr. Beatty was the Presbyterian chaplain of the army. The Rev. A. A. Lambing reminds us of the various religious services which had already been held in this territory, the earliest by the Jesuit, Father Bonnecamps, with Celeron's expedition in 1749. Braddock's army was accompanied by a chaplain who was doubtless a clergyman of the Church of England. The Rev. Denys Baron of the Recollét branch of the Franciscan Order was the chaplain of Fort Duquesne.

General Forbes wrote to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania the day after taking possession of the fort, giving its new name in writing for the first time: "Fort Duquesne, or now Pittsburg, the 26 Novr., 1758." It was the following day that he wrote his official letter of notification to William Pitt, which he began: "Pittsbourgh, 27th Novemr. 1758." In his letter to Governor Denny, General Forbes wrote "... I hope the Provinces will be so sensible of the great Benefit of this new Acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country, to all Perpetuity, under the Dominion of Great Britain..."

The victors at once began the building of a stockade around the ruins and the few soldiers' huts and traders' cabins that now constituted Pittsburgh. One of the first things they did, as an act of piety, was to go through the forests of the Monongahela to find and bury the bones of those who had fallen in Braddock's defeat. Only the autumn leaves had covered them. It was Captain West, the brother of Benjamin West, the painter, who with Indian guides led a detachment of Pennsylvanians to Braddock's field. With him was the son of Sir Peter Halket who identified, by a peculiarity of the teeth, the body of his father, and believed the bones alongside were those of his brother. Major Halket fainted. The soldiers covered the remains with

Highland plaid and fired a volley over the grave. All of the other bones were indistinguishable and were interred together.

General Forbes with the bulk of the army left for Philadelphia on December 3rd. Bouquet, two days later, after a conference with the Indians assuring them of Great Britain's peaceful and friendly intentions, followed with the rest of the troops excepting 280 men left under the command of Colonel Hugh Mercer.

Though victors now, the garrison remained in a grim situation, for the French, who had shifted quarters to Venango (which they called Fort Machault), would probably come down in the spring with troops from Niagara, Detroit, Presque Isle and LeBœuf to retake the fort.

On account of his illness General Forbes had a delay at Ligonier and reached Philadelphia January 17th, 1759. Ill as he was, he had medals struck in commemoration of the campaign. Little could he have dreamed how coveted they would be to-day! The design on one side was of a road cut through forest and over rocks and mountains with the motto *Per tot Discrimina*. On the reverse was shown the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers, the fort in flames, Forbes approaching carried on a litter followed by the army, with the motto *Ohio Brittanick Concilio Manuque*. These medals he distributed (on February 20th) to the officers of Colonel Bouquet's battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment.\*

The city of Philadelphia mourned his death on March 11th. "The Iron Head" his Indian allies had called him in admiration. Thousands lined the streets as the funeral cortege with military and civil escort passed from the Senate House to Christ Church, where in the chancel was laid to rest the body of the "steadfast and all-enduring soldier."

Two other great Generals of the New World died in the same year—the gallant French Montcalm falling in defeat at Quebec, the brave English Wolfe in the hour of his victory in the same battle on the same day—September 13th, 1759. Another officer, his first terrible apprenticeship over, was to know in this year something of the popular gratitude that warmed his heart, before an unforeseen and far severer trial. This was young George Washington.

To Montcalm they brought military questions in his dying hour which he answered clearly, giving threefold choice of action. He was carried wounded to the home of a surgeon, and asked him how long he had to live. When told "Twelve hours, more or less," he answered quietly, "So much

<sup>\*</sup> Charles W. Dahlinger's Fort Pitt.

the better. I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Through shell-torn streets they carried his body to the convent chapel of the Ursulines. Parkman tells us that after the service and the chant they lowered his body into the grave beneath by the light of torches. Then, the priests, the nuns, Ramesay with his officers and the townspeople who were there, broke into sobs, as if the last hope of their Colony was gone with their General. "In truth," Parkman adds, "the funeral of Montcalm was the funeral of New France."

The victorious and beloved Wolfe, mortally wounded, in his dying hour on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec was telling an officer "to march Webb's regiment down to the Charles River, to cut off their retreat from the bridge"; then he uttered his last words, declaring he could die in peace. They bore his body to England for burial. When the news of his death and triumph reached that country we are told that "they despaired, they triumphed, and they wept"; that England blazed with bonfires; that one spot alone was dark and silent, for here the mother mourned her son, and the people "forebore to profane her grief with the clamor of their rejoicings." \* In America, the Colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia rejoiced.

In the lives of the heroes of history one comes upon strangely intimate and precious things, such as for instance letters to their mothers, telling their deepest hopes and fears.

Turning once again to the contemporary author Owen Wister in his Seven Ages of Washington hitherto quoted, we read that Washington had now "esteem and recognition from thousands everywhere, far beyond Virginia's boundaries, crowned by that final, that perfect, that unique tribute from the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, upon his installation as a member of that body. He had met one sweeping defeat at the polls, when the 'Tippling House-Keepers' had taken their revenge on him; but now this had been reversed by an equally sweeping victory. It was in Williamsburg, 1759, when Washington was 27 years old, and commander-in-chief of all Virginia; when his first war was over, when Montcalm and Wolfe had fallen. In the House of Burgesses, Mr. Robinson, the speaker, had greeted the young member with such praise and welcome in Virginia's name, that Washington was overcome. He rose, attempted to reply, blushed, and speech failed him. 'Sit down, Mr. Washington,' said the speaker, 'your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.' . . . We leave him standing among the Burgesses, tall with his sixfoot three, strong and straight from his campaigns, grown comely and commanding, slender but large-made, a beautiful serene width between his eyes, blushing and trembling because they had praised him to his face."

<sup>\*</sup> Francis Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe.

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The temporary Fort Pitt which Forbes had begun to replace the ruins of Fort Duquesne was probably finished about the beginning of the year 1759. General Mercer, in command, wrote on the 8th of January that it was then capable of some defense, "though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being extremely severe." It was four sided with bastions and was located on the Monongahela River at the south end of West Street, between that street and Liberty Street (now Liberty Avenue) within 400 yards of Fort Duquesne.

William Pitt wrote immediately on receiving news of the capture of Fort Duquesne, on January 23rd, advocating either the restoration or erection of a fortress capable of keeping the French out of the Ohio Valley. General John Stanwix was General Forbes's successor in the department to which Pennsylvania belonged, and it was he who began the building of the new Fort Pitt. He arrived with men and materials on September 3rd, 1759. Wood for the building was near at hand but this was all. Even clay for the bricks had to be brought and other materials carried by packhorses for 300 or 400 miles. But this did not daunt General Stanwix. The work went slowly but steadily on through the fall and winter, and the soldiers, workmen, artificers, and bateaux men, as well as a constant stream of Indians coming and going on errands of trade, were covered under barracks and fed.

Late in October of 1759 General Stanwix held a council with the Indians, insisting on the return of prisoners. Among the Indian chiefs at this gathering were Guyasuta, The Beaver, King of the Delawares, Shingas, the Pipe, Gustalogo, and Kilbuck. Among the officers were others of whom we have heard, George Croghan and William Trent. General Stanwix told the Indians that Quebec had been captured by the English, who expected soon to drive the French out of the country. The ceremony of burying the hatchet was performed, the Indians pronounced themselves friends of the English and the English pronounced themselves the Indians' true protectors. The chronicle of the affair says that "thereupon General Stanwix drank to the health of the Indians and the meeting dispersed."

But trouble with the Indians was brewing all the same. They were finding out what they had suspected all along, that the English were coming not merely to protect trade, but to settle, and drive them from their own old homes and hunting grounds.

General Stanwix wrote to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania on March 17th, 1760: "As soon as the waters are down, I propose to leave this post for Philadelphia, which I can now do with great satisfaction, having finished the works all round in a very defensible manner, leave the garrison in good health, in excellent barracks, and seven months wholesome, good provisions from the 1st of April; the rest of the works may now be finished under cover. . . ."

Major Tulikens was in command of Fort Pitt until the arrival of General Monckton in June. General Monckton had been second in command to Wolfe at the fall of Quebec. Bancroft calls him "the brave, open-hearted and liberal Monckton." The French at this time were gathering their forces to oppose the English who were moving against Montreal, and Monckton's first act was to arrange to send troops to the fort at Presque Isle and as far west as Detroit and Mackinaw. Colonel Bouquet marched against Presque Isle on July 17th and took possession without resistance. A month later Monckton made a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Pitt and delivered a speech from General Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America. Again the Indians were reassured that the King did not intend to take their lands from them or to let the English people settle there.

Monckton personally had dealt with the Indians in a spirit of justice and remedied some of their wrongs. The Indians were used to being made drunk and then cheated in the value of their furs and Monckton established a store at Fort Pitt where they could trade without fear of being wronged. He left Fort Pitt in October of 1760 and was succeeded by Colonel Bouquet.

The first census of Pittsburgh, taken by Colonel James Burd in July, 1760, showed the population exclusive of soldiers to be 149. The census Colonel Bouquet ordered taken in April, 1761, reported a population of 221 men, which included a number of soldiers living outside the fort, 73 women, and 38 children. It further appeared that there were 162 houses in the village of which 10 were unoccupied. There was an upper and lower town. The lower was near the fort, and the upper on high ground along the Monongahela, extending, it is supposed, about as far as the present Market Street.

Colonel Bouquet completed the building of Fort Pitt in the winter of 1761. It was a formidable fortress, capable of accommodating 1,000 men. Its cost has been recorded sometimes as 60,000 pounds sterling, and sometimes as 100,000 pounds.

The main entrance to Fort Pitt, with drawbridge crossing the moat, was about where Penn Street, now Penn Avenue, intersects Marbury, now Barbeau Street. It was located almost entirely west of Marbury Street which was laid out partly along the glacis and partly in the moat of the fort.

For detailed description and history of the fort, the reader is recommended an absorbingly interesting volume entitled Fort Pitt, a work of exhaustive research with references, by Charles W. Dahlinger. One finds here also illustrations and reproductions of extraordinary interest. The author tells us the plan of this new and costly Fort Pitt was not the work of the Captain Harry Gordon of the Royal Americans who was designated as the chief engineer, but of Lieutenant Bernard Ratzer, an assistant engineer belonging to the same First Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment.

The following description of the fort published in the Centennial number of the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* of July 29, 1886, is claimed to be authentic:

It covered eighteen acres of ground and was much larger than Fort Duquesne. The fort proper was built in the form of an irregular pentagon, with regular bastions at the five angles surrounded by a broad moat, which at times was nearly filled by the rising water of the rivers. The moat extended from the Allegheny River northeast of the fort, and entirely around it, but did not connect with the Monongahela, though it approached very near it. The two shorter angles of the work upon the land side were revetted with brick solidly embanked with earth. The other three angles were stockaded with an earthen parapet. A line of sharpened palisades was planted near the foot of the rampart. The fort was supplied with casemates, or bomb-proofs, and had barracks and officers' quarters for a thousand men. Running across a point outside of and parallel to the ditch was the glacis, or earth work, with salient and re-entrant angles having entrances covered by traverses and extending from river to river. A light parapet, with three bastions, extended along the Allegheny and thence along the Monongahela to the bastion. Eighteen guns were mounted on the bastions.

"The King's Orchard" of apple and pear trees was planted close to the fort extending eastward from the bastions and along the Allegheny River. "The Artillery Gardens" of vegetables, flowers, shrubs, and ornamental plants extended further east. Lieutenant Ratzer had laid out about 40 acres of gardens to cover the ground between the Allegheny River and Liberty Street and extending eastward approximately to Fifth, now Stanwix Street.

Some further description is given in the diary, written in 1761, of James Kenny, a Quaker who managed a store in Pittsburgh: "On the southeast bastion stands a high pole, like a mast, on which a flag is hoisted every first day of the week from about eleven to one o'clock, and on state days, etc. Then there are three wells of water walled in the fort, and there is a square of clear ground in the interior about two acres in extent." \*

All that Pittsburgh now has left of Fort Pitt is the famous "Block House" or, as it is sometimes called, "The Old Redoubt," which is a Mecca for students of American history. Its stone tablet under the eaves is inscribed:

A.D. 1764 Coll. Bouquet

It is a little five-sided structure, the side facing the street being 23 feet in width, the others about 16 feet. It is of stone foundation, with brick upper

\* Charles W. Dahlinger's Fort Pitt.

part, and has two ranges of loopholes for musketry. Workmen repairing the floors a few years ago found several old English coins which they cherish. Since March 15, 1894, the Block House has been the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who saved it from destruction for Pittsburgh and the United States.

Before Fort Pitt was finished, not only had the French fortress at Quebec fallen before Wolfe, and Niagara before Sir William Johnson, but Ticonderoga, and other French posts as far apart as Presque Isle, Detroit, and Montreal, had been taken by the armies of General Amherst.

It was not until February 10th, 1763, that the treaty was signed at Paris which ceded to Great Britain all the conquered French territory and made the Mississippi River the western boundary of the British Colonial possessions. With the Peace of Paris, the Seven Years' War in Europe was ended. A new chapter in the annals of the world was begun.

General Amherst was not astute enough a General to avoid a very dangerous mistake. He had treated the Indians with unmitigated contempt, while telling them repeatedly that the English did not intend to settle on their lands. Unknown to him the embittered and resentful western Indian tribes had united under a leader—Pontiac. All was not well in the Ohio Valley. Fort Pitt was to be needed, after all.

While peace was being negotiated in Paris in 1763, war was being fomented in Indian camps from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi River in the wilderness of the New World. Indian prophets were fasting and praying to the Great Spirit for strength for their revenge; the young braves were "singing their war-songs and whetting their scalping knives"; Pontiac's messengers were hurrying from tribe to tribe.

A just measure was proposed by Great Britain too late to avoid the oncoming horror. It was not until the October following the signing of the Treaty of Paris, that Great Britain in dividing her new territories proclaimed the valley of the Ohio and adjacent regions as Indian domain and forbade intrusion of the settlers. At this date, after so many deceptions, the proclamation inflamed the Indians the more. The opening of the Braddock and Forbes Roads prepared not only what is now western Pennsylvania, but Kentucky and other regions, for immigrants. And the Indians saw that the French were driven out, not as they had been told for their benefit, but for actual British occupation. Now, bereft of their old allies, they saw that they must fight alone. They were consumed with bitterness, fear and thirst for revenge.

Meanwhile Pontiac, the Ottawa chief who dominated all the western tribes by his sheer force of character, planned an unbelievable piece of strategy. By the close of the year 1762 the Indian messengers coming and going among their camps and villages, were, unknown to the English, plotting under Pontiac's direction a simultaneous attack on every one of the western English forts. The design was to drive the English from out all that western country. The plot was kept a profound secret, while the day of the attack was set.

The messengers went through the country from the lakes and borders of the Ottawa River, through the valley of the Ohio, and southward toward the mouth of the Mississippi. They carried the words of Pontiac to every Indian camp. Everywhere these words stirred the Indian soul, and around the campfires the red men in preparation recited the deeds of their great warriors and heroes; performed incantations of magic, and enacted savage ceremonies with wampum belt and scalping knife and tomahawk, exciting themselves into mad orgies of anticipation.

A plan was perfected by which all the tribes would rise together, each destroying the nearest English garrison. Then with one great rush they were to attack the forts along the frontier.

In the final authority on these wars, The Conspiracy of Pontiac, by Parkman, the author tells us: "The tribes thus banded against the English comprised with few unimportant exceptions the whole Algonquin stock, to whom were united the Wyandots, the Senecas, and several tribes of the lower Mississippi. The Senecas were the only members of the Iroquois confederacy who joined in the league, the rest being kept quiet by the influence of Sir William Johnson, whose utmost exertions, however, were barely sufficient to allay their irritation. While thus on the very eve of an outbreak, the Indians concealed their designs with the dissimulation of their race. The warriors still lounged about the forts, with calm, impenetrable faces, begging as usual for tobacco, gunpowder and whisky. Now and then some slight intimation of danger would startle the garrison, but it would soon be forgotten and the sense of security would return."

At Fort Pitt General Monckton had been succeeded in command first by Major Tulikens, then by Colonel Burd, and later by Colonel Vaughan. Probably it was Colonel Burd who was in command while Pontiac and Guyasuta, a Seneca chief of this region, were planning the stroke against Pittsburgh. Captain Simeon Ecuyer (Swiss, like Bouquet) was in command in the spring and summer of 1763. Like so many letters and maps dealing with early Pittsburgh, Captain Ecuyer's correspondence of this time is in the British Museum. On May 29th he wrote from Fort Pitt to Colonel Bouquet:

SIR.—A large party of Mingoes arrived here at the beginning of the month and have delivered to us ten miserable horses. They demand presents from me, but I have refused all their demands excepting eight bushels of Indian corn, which they have planted opposite Croghan's house, where they have formed a town. Before yesterday evening, Mr.

McKee reported to me that the Mingoes and Delawares were in motion, and that they sold in haste 300 pounds worth of skins, with which they have bought as much powder and lead as they could. Yesterday I sent him to their villages to get information, but found them all abandoned. He followed their traces, and he is certain they have descended the river: that makes me think they wish to intercept our boats and prevent our passage. They have stolen three horses and a cask of rum at Bushv Run; they at the same time stole 50 pounds from one called Coleman (on the road to Bedford) with the gun at his breast. They say the famous Wolfe and Butler were the chiefs, and it is clear that they wish to break with us. I pity the poor people on the communication. I am at work to put the Fort in the best possible condition with the few people we have. Mr. Hutchins arrived here vesterday with six recruits. We have twenty boats in the water; I would like to know the number you wish, and what the carpenters must do. As I was finishing my letter three men arrived from Clapham's with the bad news that vesterday at three o'clock P.M. the Indians had killed Clapham, and all that were in the house were robbed and massacred. These three men were at work and escaped through the woods. I sent them immediately with arms to warn our men at Bushy Run. The Indians told Byerly to guit the place or they would all be killed in four days. I tremble for our small posts. As for this one, I will answer for it.

If any person should come here, they must take an escort, for the affair is serious.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir,
Your very humble and obedient servant,

S. ECUYER.

The next day, Captain Ecuyer after destroying the "lower town" (whose timber he used for the fort), and burning the "upper town" (that it might not be used by the Indians), gathered all the inhabitants of Pittsburgh into Fort Pitt for protection against the Indians. To the garrison of 250 men there were now added 80 men, 104 women and 106 children.\*

At this time General Amherst's army, which had conquered Canada, was reduced to mere fragments of regiments. Most of the regulars had been sent home and the Colonials disbanded. Only feeble garrisons were left in the forts along the frontier and within the Indian country.

By a mistake in time which may have been the salvation of the fort, the Indian attack on Fort Pitt began on the afternoon of July 28th, 1763, and lasted five days and nights. The historian, Father Lambing, says that the Indians had no idea they were making this mistake, which occurred thus:

<sup>\*</sup> Sarah H. Killikelly's History of Pittsburgh: Its Rise and Progress.



FIRST COURTHOUSE AND MARKET IN PITTSBURGH



WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING



At the grand council of the tribes, held to make the final arrangements, each tribe had been given a bundle of small rods, each bundle containing as many rods as there were days before the attack was to be made. But that a squaw of the Delawares, wishing to frustrate the plans, had secretly taken out several of the rods and thus precipitated a premature attack on Fort Pitt. As to her motive we are not enlightened.

Except for this incident, so marvelously executed was Pontiac's plan that within six weeks all of the forts had been attacked and destroyed except the fort at Green Bay (which was abandoned), Fort Ligonier, and Fort Pitt. The garrisons of the fallen forts "suffered all the horrors of torture, massacre, and cannibalism, and devastation raged along the defenseless frontier." \*

Pontiac himself conducted the siege of Detroit. In the histories of these wars following the conquest of Canada one reads of the most inexpressible tortures that the savage mind in its fury was able to conceive. In a little log school house the master and his nine pupils were found massacred and mangled, one of the children still, though scarcely, living. It is interesting to learn that this barbarity brought stern disapproval from some of the Indians themselves.

Settlements that lay peaceful in the sun and in the shade of evening would before many hours be aglow in the light of their own burning, and the forest around the clearing would be ringing with the shrieks of the inmates who were being murdered. Yet the extremity of hardship, we are told, was to those whose lives were spared for a time to be tortured; or who, having escaped, either lost their way and died of hunger and exposure, or were found again.

This was the most frightful period in the history of Western Pennsylvania.

General Amherst ordered Colonel Bouquet, then in Philadelphia, to the relief of Fort Pitt. With "the shattered remainder of the 42nd and 77th regiments, about 500 men, lately returned in a dismal condition from the West Indies, and far from being recovered from their fatigue at the siege of Havana," Colonel Bouquet left Fort Bedford on the 28th of July. On the afternoon of the 5th of August they had reached a defile of Turtle Creek where they were attacked by Indians. There was an engagement which Colonel Bouquet reported to General Amherst in a letter on the 5th, headed: "Camp at Edgehill, 26 miles from Fort Pitt." In this letter he says, "I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the cool and steady behaviour of the troops who did not fire a shot without orders and drove the enemy from their posts with fixed bayonets—the conduct of the officers is much above my praises."

<sup>\*</sup>Pelham Edgar's The Struggle for a Continent, edited from the writings of Francis Parkman.

The letter which follows, written by Colonel Bouquet to General Amherst the next day, describes one of the most important battles of American history—that of Bushy Run. It took place on the 5th and 6th of August, 1763, on Bushy Run, which is a tributary of Turtle Creek, 25 miles from Fort Pitt. The Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoes, Wyandots, Mohikons, Miamis and Ottawas were engaged.

Camp at Bushy Run, Sixth of August, 1763.

SIR.—I had the honor to inform Your Excellency in my letter of

vesterday of our first engagement with the savages.

We took post last night on the hill, where our convoy halted, when the front was attacked (a commodious piece of ground, and just spacious enough for our purpose). There we encircled the whole, and covered our wounded with flour bags. In the morning the savages surrounded our camp, at the distance of about five hundred yards, and by shouting and yelping, quite round that extensive circumference, thought to have terrified us, with their numbers. They attacked us early, and under favor of an incessant fire, made bold attempts to penetrate our camp; and though they failed in the attempt, our situation was not less perplexing, having experienced that brisk attacks had but little effect upon an enemy who always gave way when pressed, and appeared again immediately; our troops were besides extremely fatigued with the long march, and the long action of the preceding day, and distressed to the last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

Tied to our convoy we could not lose sight of it, without exposing it and our wounded to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed upon us at every side; and to move was impracticable, having lost many horses and most of the drivers, who, stupefied by fear, hid themselves in the bushes or were incapable of hearing or obeying orders.

The savages growing every moment more audacious, it was thought proper still to increase their confidence; by that means if possible to entice them to come close upon us, or to stand their ground when attacked. With this view two companies of light Infantry were ordered within the circle, and the troops on their right and left opened their files, and filled up the space that it might seem they were intended to cover the retreat; the third light Infantry Company and the Grenediers of the Forty-second were ordered to support the two first companies. This manœuvre succeeded to our wish, for the few troops who took possession of the ground lately occupied by the two light infantry companies being brought in nearer to the center of the circle, the barbarians

mistaking these motions for a retreat, hurried headlong on, and advancing upon us with the most daring intrepidity, galled us excessively with their heavy fire; but at the very moment that, certain of success, they thought themselves master of the camp, Major Campbell at the head of the two first companies, sallied out from a part of the hill they could not observe, and fell upon their right flank; they resolutely returned the fire but could not stand the irresistible shock of our men, who, rushing in among them, killed many of them and put the rest to flight. The orders sent the other two companies were delivered so timely by Captain Basset and executed with such celerity and spirit, that the routed savages, who happened to run that moment before their front, received their full fire when uncovered by the trees; the four companies did not give them time to load a second time, nor even to look behind them, but pursued them until they were totally dispersed. The left of the sayages, which had not been attacked, was kept in awe by the remains of our troops posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose; nor durst they attempt to support or assist their right, but being witness of their defeat. followed their example and fled. Our brave men disdained so much to touch the dead body of a vanquished enemy that scarce a scalp was taken, except by the rangers and pack horse drivers.

The woods now being cleared and the pursuit over, the four companies took possession of a hill in our front; as soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour and everything destroyed, which for want of horses could not be carried, we marched without molestation to this camp. After the severe correction we had given the savages a few hours before, it was natural to suppose we should enjoy some rest; but we had hardly fixed our camp when they fired upon us again; this was very provoking. However, the light Infantry dispersed them before they could receive orders for that purpose.

I hope we shall be no more disturbed, for if we have another action we shall hardly be able to carry our wounded.

The behaviour of the troops on this occasion, speaks for itself so strongly, that for me to attempt their eulogium would but detract from their merit.

I have the honor to be most respectfully, Sir, &c.,

HENRY BOUQUET.

To His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

It was this battle which broke Pontiac's campaign. Colonel Bouquet continued to Fort Pitt, and the relief of the fort ended the English-Indian War.

Once again it is possible to look within Fort Pitt through an entry made in Captain Ecuyer's orderly book:

Fort Pitt, August 11, 1763, G. O. parole.

Countersign. Garrison orders:

The guard to be relieved at 10 o'clock. For guard, Ensign Price, 2 sergeants, 1 drummer and 36 rank and file.

Colonel Bouquet orders his thanks to be given to the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants who have so bravely defended the post against the repeated attacks of the barbarians and malicious enemies. Captain Ecuver by his firm and prudent conduct has obtained the General's entire approbation and it is with the greatest satisfaction that the Colonel informs him of it. The Colonel takes a particular pleasure in expressing to Major Trent how agreeable his services and those performed by the brave militia under his command are to him and returns him his sincere thanks for the ready assistance he has constantly given the commanding officer, desiring he will inform his officers and men of the grateful sense the Colonel has of their behavior. Nothing can be more agreeable to the Colonel than to have to represent to the General the merit of the officers and men who have contributed to the preservation of this important post. which particularly curbs the insolence and pride of the faithless savages and continues an immovable barrier against the impotence of their rage and perfidy.

All the double arms employed in defense of this post to be drawn and delivered with the ammunition to the officer of the artillery who will have them put in order. All the women and children and useless people to hold themselves in readiness tomorrow night to go to the settlement. A party will be ready to reap tomorrow morning, who will be covered by a company of light infantry.

The effects of a deceased officer of the Forty-second Regiment are to be sold at vendue tomorrow morning in camp at 10 o'clock.

For guard tomorrow, Lieutenant Donelon, I sergeant, 2 corporals, I drummer, 36 privates.

In spite of the fact that Pontiac's conspiracy was ended and that a quiet winter followed, the outlook was far from clear for the people in Western Pennsylvania. In the first place the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute made it impossible for settlers to know what State they belonged to—a condition of affairs which continued until 1779 when the dispute was finally amicably adjusted. In the second place, in the spring after the battle of Bushy Run the Indians began a series of guerilla depredations.

Once again Colonel Bouquet was called upon to come to this region and restore peace. His army of about 500 "regulars" and 1,000 Virginia and

Pennsylvania volunteers, leaving Fort Pitt on the second of October, 1764, for the Shawanese and Delaware country on the Muskingum River, this time had a bloodless victory. The Indians at sight of the army came to Bouquet for pardon and brought to him their prisoners as demanded. But the frontier was never free from dread and danger until General Anthony Wayne's expedition into the Ohio country in 1793.

Governor John Penn of Pennsylvania in 1764 actually proposed by proclamation the following rewards for the scalps or capture of Indians: for every male above 10 years, captured, \$150; or for his scalp, being killed, \$134. For every female, or male under 10 years old, captured, \$130; or for the scalp of such female killed, \$50.\*

That would seem beyond comment. One must say here that the British government sent instructions to John Penn informing him that several persons of his province and the back parts of Virginia had located on ground belonging to the Indians, which was forbidden for settlement by the British government's proclamation of October, 1763. John Penn was enjoined to act. General Gage, now Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, took the matter in charge, and sent an officer to warn off the settlers, who, however, either didn't move or moved and immediately came back.

In February of 1768 an act was passed inflicting death, without benefit of clergy, upon any person, settled upon lands not purchased of the Indians, who should refuse after a stated number of days' notice to quit the same, or having removed, return to these or occupy unpurchased lands. "But," says the Rev. A. A. Lambing, "it was all to no purpose; for those who were removed by force returned again as soon as the troops were withdrawn. The Indians continued to complain, and a conference was held in Pittsburgh in April and May of this year, with the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanese, Munsies and Mohickons, at which 1,103 Indians were present, beside women and children; but nothing effectual was done to remedy the evil."

In October of that year, 1768, Thomas and Richard Penn, at a conference with the Indians, purchased for \$10,000 the territory including Pittsburgh and the vicinity, and in 1771 the Penns appointed magistrates to act in Pittsburgh. General Gage then ordered Major Edmonson, then commandant, to abandon Fort Pitt. It was not destroyed, but all that was salable, the buildings and materials, were sold to William Thompson and Alexander Ross for the sum of 25 pounds in New York currency. And yet this was not the end of the history of Fort Pitt. For immediately the rapacious Governor Dunmore of Virginia renewed his claim, and sent his notorious tool, Dr. John Connolly to take possession. It was renamed Fort Dunmore. Gatherings of militia, magistrate's hearings and the like took

<sup>\*</sup> The Rev. A. A. Lambing's Allegheny County: Its Early History and Subsequent Development.

place in the old fort now, and it became a center of political troubles for the next three years.

Regardless of all the disturbances and difficulties and dangers, the settlers increased in number throughout Western Pennsylvania. "There was to be no monotony in the life of the backwoodsmen while Fort Pitt must remain for a few years more, not only the place of embarkation for the West, but a center of military operations."

The War of the Revolution opened with the Battle of Lexington April 19th, 1775. To this district, the Indians were a far more terrifying foe than invading British armies. On the 16th of May, 1775, conventions were held at Pittsburgh and Hannastown to consider the action of the Colonies. At these meetings the frontiersmen "cordially approved the spirited behavior of their brethren of New England" and unanimously resolved that it was the "indispensable duty of every American" to resist the tyranny of the British government.

Fort Pitt was now used as a barrier between the British at Detroit and the East. Captain John Neville with 100 men held it from August, 1775, until June 1st, 1777, when Brigadier-General Edward Hand took it over. Provisions were so scarce by this time that the price of bacon had risen to \$1 a pound, and flour to \$16 a barrel.

In the spring of 1778 the fort was reënforced when General McIntosh took command. Fort McIntosh at the mouth of Beaver Creek was erected during the summer, and in October was made headquarters for the army of the Western Department. The detailed history of these years shows a characteristic state of disturbance, military and political. On the 29th of August, 1781, Colonel Brodhead, who succeeded General McIntosh, wrote to George Washington: "The Maryland corps was stationed at a post on the frontier of Westmoreland County, and have in a body deserted and crossed the mountains. Indeed, I am afraid the other corps will soon follow, if their sufferings are not attended to." And a week later he was writing again to the Commander-in-Chief, "Col. Gibson still continues to counteract me, and the officers who favor his claim reject my orders, others refuse his, and things are in the utmost confusion."

Washington replaced Brodhead by General William Irvine, who, when he arrived, found the population practically in a panic through more Indian raids. Brighter days came with the surrender of Cornwallis. Yet, 10 years later, when Fort Pitt had fallen into ruins, the Indian outbreaks terrified the community again. The United States Government then ordered a new defense in Pittsburgh. It was called Fort Fayette and stood on the ground now bounded by Liberty Avenue and the Allegheny River and bounded on one side by Ninth Street and on the other by Garrison Way.

When the news of Cornwallis's surrender reached Fort Pitt, the following order was issued:

> Fort Pitt, November 6th, 1781. Countersign-Joy

Parole-General

General Irvine has the pleasure to congratulate the troops upon the great and glorious news. Lord Cornwallis, with the troops under his command, surrendered, prisoners of war, on the 10th of October last, to the allied armies of America and France, under the immediate command of his excellency General Washington. The prisoners amount to upwards of five thousand regular troops, near two thousand tories, and as many negroes, besides a number of merchants and other followers.

Thirteen pieces of artillery will be fired this day at 10 o'clock, in the fort, at which time the troops will be under arms, with their colors displayed. The commissaries will issue a gill of whisky, extraordinary, to the non-commissioned officers and privates, upon this joyful occasion.

Pittsburgh at this time, exclusive of the garrison, probably numbered about 400 souls. A roster of the troops from Western Pennsylvania who fought in the War of the Revolution is found in Charles W. Dahlinger's work. Fort Pitt, with its extremely valuable references.

While Washington had struggled against the British and the Hessians in the East, Fort Pitt with all its vicissitudes and confusing changes of command had yet been of incalculable aid as a frontier post. Pittsburgh was a sentinel in a stark and dangerous country, immeasurably more remote than now from Boston, which had already had its Harvard College for over 100 years; or from Philadelphia, which could provide a gay winter for titled British officers; or from Baltimore or Williamsburg, where the privileged lived in a state of Old World culture, ease and luxury. All the while, however, the little Western Pennsylvania stronghold was becoming the actual, as it had always been the natural, Gateway to the West, with a strange and tremendous drama of its own. It was heroically learning a lesson of priceless future value-how to hold out in crises.

If it had given way, world history would probably have been radically different.

By its fortitude through the extremities of human suffering and endurance it became classic ground.

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CHAPTER IV

BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT AND INDIAN RELATIONS



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## BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT AND INDIAN RELATIONS

Revolution Being Over and National Independence Won, Pittsburgh Takes Up Boundary Dispute—Mason and Dixon Line Points Way to Agreement—Southern Boundary Line Run in 1784, Western Line in 1785—Recent Researches Indicate that First English-speaking Settlements West of Appalachians Were Along the Monongahela—Professor Alfred P. James's Criticism of Historians' Failure to Recognize Monongahela Priority—Wrongs Committed by Whites against Indians as a Factor in Indian Depredations—White Responsibility in Dunmore's War—Provocations by Whites as Described by Richard Butler—Colonel George Morgan's Enlightened Indian Policy—His Services as Indian Agent at Fort Pitt During Revolutionary War.

The War of the Revolution being over, and American independence having been won, the little community known as Pittsburgh had natural longings to know whether it belonged to the Commonwealth of Virginia or the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The conflict of jurisdiction referred to in the preceding chapter began to be a serious detriment to community growth. The French and the Indians and the British had all been got rid of, but a new difficulty inherited from the pre-Revolutionary period and the unscrupulous greed of Lord Dunmore, the Virginia Colonial Governor, now insistently demanded a solution.

Before the outbreak of the Revolution, Dunmore had escaped on a British man-of-war. Dunmore's agent, Connolly, was by order of Congress imprisoned in Philadelphia during the Revolution. After its close he was permitted to take refuge in Canada, where he found service with the English government.

In Virginia such eminent citizens as Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry had shown their contempt of the policy of Lord Dunmore by publicly deploring the dispute between the colonies. Benjamin Franklin, as the most representative citizen of Pennsylvania, manifested a like spirit of forbearance and joined Jefferson and Henry in an appeal to the people of both colonies for mutual goodwill and understanding. The last aggressive action on either side was the adoption of a resolution by the Virginia Provincial Convention in August, 1775, ordering that Captain John Neville be sent with a company of 100 men to take possession of Fort Pitt in the name of the Virginia gov-

ernment, this being in answer to a proclamation by Governor Penn several months previously affirming the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania over the disputed region and calling upon all settlers to uphold the Pennsylvania magistrates in the enforcement of the Pennsylvania laws.

During the early part of the Revolution the boundary dispute was quiescent, although the uncertainty of jurisdiction with all its attendant embarrassments to the people remained. It was obvious that the dispute would have to be settled by the arbitrament of events rather than argument. Disregard by one king of England for the acts of another king of England was primarily at fault. James I had by royal charter in 1609 granted to a colonization company all of the territory in what is now Southwestern Pennsylvania, and Charles II granted all of this same territory by royal charter to William Penn in 1681.

It was Dunmore's private land operations for his own personal profit and assaults committed by his agents that were responsible for the disrespect in which he was generally held, rather than his insistence on Virginia's title. Virginians of the greatest probity of character thought the Virginia title good. As one historian points out, Governor Dinwiddie believed Virginia had a valid claim to what is now Allegheny County and the counties surrounding it. There appears to be no evidence that George Washington himself did not consider Fayette, Greene, Washington and Allegheny Counties to be in Virginia territory. Virginia for several years held two courts in the valley of the Monongahela in what afterward became Pennsylvania country. Virginia at first considered this region as a portion of her County of Spottsylvania. She afterward (in 1734) erected the western portion of Spottsylvania into a new county designated as Orange County. Prior to 1740, all of that part of Orange County lying west of the Blue Ridge was made a separate county known as Augusta County. The western part of Augusta County, by an Act of the Virginia Legislature in November, 1776, was subdivided into three counties, known as Youghioghenia, Ohio, and Monongalia. The territory around Pittsburgh belonged to Youghioghenia.

These were in brief the divisions promulgated by Virginian authority. Pennsylvania proclaimed entirely different boundaries and jurisdictions. Pennsylvania early in 1750 created the sixth county of the colony, calling it Cumberland County and defining it as embracing all of the lands within the province of Pennsylvania to the westward of the Susquehanna, and northward and westward of the County of York. As the Act covered only territory to which the claim of the Indians had been extinguished, and the purchase of 1758 from the Indians did not include Allegheny County, the latter territory was still left in Indian control. It was not until the signing of the treaty with the Indian chiefs of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York, in October, 1768, that the Indian titles were extinguished in the

region surrounding Pittsburgh, and what is now Allegheny County became for the time being a part of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. Out of this Cumberland County, Bedford and Westmoreland Counties were to be formed respectively in 1771 and 1773.

Meanwhile many land owners in Western Pennsylvania yielded to the temptation not to pay their taxes because of the doubt as to which set of tax collectors had the best legal claim upon their money. No practical step was taken toward a boundary settlement during the Revolution until 1779, when the two commonwealths appointed commissioners to meet in conference. George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse acted on behalf of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Madison and Robert Andrews on behalf of Virginia. It was the general expectation that the Mason and Dixon line would point the way to an agreement, and the expectation was not disappointed. The running of this line had terminated a long and acrimonious boundary dispute between the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The latitude of the Mason and Dixon line is 39° 43′ 26″ north, but prior to the conference of 1779 neither Pennsylvania nor Virginia had been willing to accept this line as the limits of their jurisdiction. Pennsylvania demanded a strip of land nearly a degree wide south of the line, while Virginia claimed that the boundary should be the parallel of 40 degrees north latitude. It is pointed out that even under her own claim Virginia had no title to Pittsburgh, which is 26′ 34″ north of the 40th parallel, and yet she had repeatedly seized Fort Pitt in the assertion of her jurisdiction.

The Virginia-Pennsylvania Commissioners met at Baltimore on August 31 and signed the following pact:

"We do hereby mutually, on behalf of our respective states, ratify and confirm the following agreement, viz.: To extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees, to be computed from the Delaware for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limit of said state be the western boundary of said state forever."

The legislatures of the two states ratified the agreement in 1780, and a joint commission appointed by the two states ran the southern boundary line in 1784, and another joint commission the western boundary line in 1785. How the task was performed may be read with interest. The commission to run the western boundary line described the process as follows in its report:

We, the subscribers, commissioners appointed by the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia to ascertain the boundary between said states, do certify that we have carried a meridian line from the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania northward to the River Ohio, and marked it by cutting a wide vista over all the principal hills intersected by said line, and by

falling or deadening trees generally, through all the lower grounds. And we have likewise placed stones marked on the east side P and on the west side V on most of the principal hills, and where the line strikes the Ohio; which stones are accurately placed in the true meridian, bounding the states aforesaid.

Meanwhile the pulse of the new civilization wakening to conscious life throughout this frontier of the western world was beginning to be felt all along the Monongahela. One of the early historians says:

Probably not less than fifty houses constituted the town of Pittsburgh at the commencement of 1774. From Fort Pitt far up the Monongahela and along many of the branches of the Monongahela, were settlements. Upon eastern tributaries of the Ohio and down that stream for more than a hundred miles from Pittsburgh were to be seen cabins of frontier men; but not a single settler had yet ventured across that river.

We are further informed that small cultivated fields broke in upon the monotony of the wilderness for a short distance up the east side of the Allegheny River from Pittsburgh, while toward the mountains General Forbes's Road—a magnificent achievement, the importance of which could not easily be exaggerated—was the northern limit of civilized habitation.

The historian's declaration that not a single settler had ventured west of the Ohio River as late as 1774 is a striking testimony as to the stubbornness with which the New World jungle yielded to the advance of European civilization. The description of the Monongahela and its branches as a region of abounding settlements at this period is corroborated by recent researches. One of the most interesting of these, made by Alfred P. James, Professor of History in the University of Pittsburgh, boldly announces the conclusion that the "first English-speaking settlements west of the Appalachian Mountains were along the Monongahela River—all history texts to the contrary not-withstanding."

"The significance of the western movement and of frontier life in the United States," according to Professor James, "has been a favorite theme of study for more than forty years. It would seem that after so long a period of study there would be few misconceptions in regard to the more general facts, but such is not the case. A large majority of the secondary school textbooks, and not a few of the college textbooks are inaccurate as to the location of the first genuine American frontier."

"In the public schools, particularly," says Prof. James, "American children are being taught that it was in Tennessee and Kentucky; that the first real frontiersmen were William Deane, Daniel Boone, Richard Henderson, John Sevier, and others who settled along the Watauga and

Holston branches of the Tennessee River and later moved westward, some to Boonesborough in Kentucky and others to Nashville in Tennessee; and that the majority of these first frontiersmen were Scotch-Irish settlers from the Carolinas. That children in Western Pennsylvania should be so taught is peculiarly unfortunate.

"In sharp contrast with the accepted version, there is little doubt that the oldest English-speaking settlements west of the high mountains of the Appalachians, on waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, were made along the Monongahela River. Actual settlement in this region antedated the actual settlement in Tennessee and Kentucky by nearly two decades. If we omit from consideration the fur traders, the first English explorers beyond the Appalachians were sent out by Virginia land companies in 1749 and 1750. It is the irony of fate that the earliest English records of Kentucky are the journals of two of these explorers, Dr. Thomas Walker and Christopher Gist. The latter, on his journeys, reached Kentucky by way of Western Pennsylvania and the Ohio River.

"Immediately after Gist's explorations actual settlement on backwoods farms began along the Monongahela River. To the earlier cabins of scattered fur traders were added other isolated cabins of genuine backwoods farmers. Some of the Gists, the Browns, and the Stewarts had established themselves in what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Their appearance at this point was by way of Nemacolin's path, blazed by an Indian agent of the Ohio Company of Virginia—a path later still known as the Cumberland Road or National Road. The approach to the west offered by the Potomac River and one of its branches, Will's Creek, furnishes the explanation both of this route and of this early westward movement.

"When, in 1753, George Washington was returning from his famous mission to the French at Fort LeBœuf, he met along Nemacolin's path a considerable group of settlers crossing the mountains to join those already settled in the Monongahela valley.

"The outbreak of the war with the French in 1754 brought one advantage. Washington in 1754 and General Braddock in 1755 widened and cleared Nemacolin's path and made it available for easier travel, But Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity in 1754 and General Braddock's disastrous defeat on Turtle Creek in 1755 opened the scattered English settlements to irresistible Indian and French attack. With possibly the exception of some remote cabins in the hills of what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania, all the frontier beyond the Appalachians was evacuated from 1755 to 1759.

"But when, in 1758, General Forbes drove back the French, advanced to the junction of the Monongahela and the Allegheny, and established

English control at Pittsburgh, resettlement of the Monongahela country took place at once."

It is pointed out that of this English occupation, extending back to the headwaters of the Monongahela, Pittsburgh was the spearhead to the westward. In 1760 it had two hundred and one huts and houses either finished or in course of construction with a population of about 150. According to a contemporary letter there were at this date about 4,000 settlers on this frontier. In 1761 Pittsburgh had a population of 332 inhabitants. correspondence of Colonel Henry Bouquet is cited in evidence of the fact that from 1750 settlers were moving into the Monongahela country in increasing numbers, to the anger of the Indians and the discomfiture of the imperial and colonial officials. At the end of Pontiac's conspiracy settlers poured over the mountains. Efforts to disperse them by proclamation and military power were alike without result. After the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 there was "a veritable rush to Western Pennsylvania. Practically all the good agricultural land in southwestern Pennsylvania was taken up in the years immediately following. It is safe to say that the Monongahela frontier had been completely settled before the American Revolution."

A brief statement offered by this same authority as to settlements in Tennessee and Kentucky indicates the common misconception about the "first American frontier," if by this terminology is meant settlement west of the mountains. While there were settlers in what is now southwestern Pennsylvania as early as 1756, the famous Watauga and Holston settlements in what is now northeastern Tennessee are shown by Prof. James's researches to have been made as late as 1769. Daniel Boone, who had hunted in what is now western North Carolina between 1760 and 1769, made his famous explorations in Kentucky in 1769 and the years immediately following. The first actual settlement in Kentucky was made at Harrodsburg in 1774 by James Harrod and others who reached Kentucky by way of Redstone and the Monongahela River. Daniel Boone and his group of settlers did not take up permanent residence at Boonesborough until 1775. The settlement of James Robertson and others near the site of Nashville, Tennessee, was five years later than the settlement of Kentucky.

It should be noted that the Watauga and Holston settlements were not west of the Alleghenies. Not until the actual outbreak of the American Revolution was the trans-Appalachian frontier of Tennessee and Kentucky established. It is obvious, concludes Prof. James, that this was nearly a quarter of a century after the actual settlement of the Monongahela country, west of what is now known as Chestnut Ridge of the Appalachian system at this latitude. The Monongahela country was plainly the first genuine American frontier in the sense of an English speaking trans-Appalachian settlement.

PITTSBURGH IN 1874 (From Brownsville Avenue and Gray Road, now William Street, Knox School on right.)

Why this fact has not been universally recognized in textbooks is explained by Prof. James in a manner that appeals to intelligent and discriminating judgment. In the first place the Monongahela country was a part of the old colonies, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and remained such until the establishment of West Virginia at the time of the Civil War; while the settlements at Harrodsburg, Boonesborough and Nashville were in a region that later became new states. The fact that these latter settlements were for some years in the jurisdiction of either Virginia or North Carolina seems to be of little parallel significance. As a whole, this viewpoint is best commented upon by the statement that it is altogether too political. It ignores the fundamental historic factors of physical geography and economic sociology.

In reality, settlers in the Monongahela country were highly isolated from the older civilization east of the mountains in spite of Nemacolin's path, Braddock's road and the road constructed by General Forbes in 1758. On this matter a motor trip over the National Highway or the Lincoln Highway across the mountains will satisfy the most skeptical. And life in the Monongahela country was hard and dangerous. The Indians in this region were as numerous and as hostile as anywhere else. The writings of Christopher Gist, George Washington, George Croghan, David McClure, Joseph Doddridge and others reveal these settlements as places of a pioneer backwoods society with all the typical aspects of the frontier. An excellent article in the Western Historical Magazine of Pennsylvania, IX (1926) on "Child Life in Colonial Western Pennsylvania," by Percy Caley, leaves no doubt whatever on this point.

A further explanation of popular misconceptions, as Justin Winsor pointed out thirty years ago, was the dramatic interest of Daniel Boone "based on his own recitals as preserved by his contemporaries." While dozens of biographies of Boone have been written there is said to be none of Christopher Gist. To quote again Prof. James:

Historians in general have failed, admittedly, to recognize the priority of the Monongahela country. John Marshall and Jared Sparks, in their biographies of Washington (commonly used sources of information) were too much interested in the personal history of Washington. They did not sense that Washington in the west was but a part of much more significant forces. Francis Parkman devoted himself largely to political and military drama, and virtually ignored the significance of actual settlement. His concept of history was not that of the complete social life of man. Theodore Roosevelt in his notable historical work, The Winning of the West, insofar as he went beyond the treatment of Parkman, fell under the spell of the dramatic story of Daniel Boone and the settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee. Also, the Filson Club,

of Louisville, Kentucky, has succeeded in popularizing the story of early Kentucky by active historical research and publication. In present-day language, it sold Daniel Boone and Kentucky to the American public. The more recent attempt of Archibald Henderson to assign to Richard Henderson the major part in the rôle of settlement in Kentucky merely changes emphasis there and ignores the historic claim of the Monongahela country. It would seem that an opportunity exists for those devoted to the prestige of the Monongahela country to do for it what others have done elsewhere.

Before turning away from the frontier period, the historian of Western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley owes it to his readers to undertake some account of the sources of the Indian warfare which continued from the period of the French and Indian War up to, as well as through the Revolution.

The relations between the whites and the Indians in this country will probably never be rightly understood by students who have no access to original documents of the period of settlement and exploration. The depredations to which the colonies were subject, and which were exemplified in the constant alarms at Fort Pitt during the Revolution, were an inheritance from the lack of consideration for Indian claims in the first white settlements.

Celeron and the French missionaries set an example of kindness to the Indians which if consistently followed would have avoided much trouble. William Penn was the most benevolent of the English, but members of Penn's own family subsequently distinguished themselves by complete blindness to the fact that the red men had on the whole been the victims of flagrant injustice.

As an example of the wise benignity of Celeron in his treatment of the "savages," it is worth while to quote two or three passages from his journal of his expedition from Canada down into the Ohio Valley past Pittsburgh in 1749:

July 17th, At break of day we commenced our portage, which was conducted very vigorously. Nearly all the canoes, provisions, and munitions of war and merchandise, destined for presents to the nations of la Belle Rivière, were carried the three quarter-leagues which had been cleared the evening before. This road is very difficult, on account of the number of hillsides which are encountered, also, all my men were very tired.

July 18th, I continued my portage; but bad weather prevented continuing it as long as on the preceding day. I consoled myself that this delay was only caused by the rain: it was all that I wished, in order to have water in the river to pass with the load that I had in my canoe.

July 22d, We have achieved the portage, which could be counted as

four leagues, and we arrived at the border of Lake Chatakium.\* At this place I had my canoes repaired and rested my men.

July 23d, At noon I departed and encamped one league from the entrance of the lake, which might be nine leagues. In the evening our savages, who had been fishing in the lake, told me that they had seen people, who had hidden in the woods as soon as they perceived them.

July 24th, I went out of the lake early in the morning and drew into the river Chatakium. The water being found low, I transported the greater part of the baggage by land. The portage was indicated to me by the traces of the savages. We had nearly three-quarters of a league to transport our canoes, which could not pass with the load; we have made at least the day, by water, one half league.

July 25th, Before commencing our march, by the advice of the savages of my detachment, I assembled a council, composed of the officers and the natives which I had with me, to deliberate together on the measures which we should take on the occasion of the vestiges, which we had found the preceding evening, of several cabins, abandoned with such precipitation that they had left a part of their utensils, their canoes, and even their provisions, to gain the woods. This manœuvre made us judge of the fear of the savages, and that they had only retired through fear, and, consequently, they would carry the alarm to all the villagesput them to flight or make them take the part of assembling, forming a considerable corps and surrounding us with ambushes. The country was very advantageous for them, and for us very difficult of access, owing to the little water in the river. I communicated the intentions of the Marquis de la Galissonière to the officers; they saw that it was of very great importance, for the execution of the orders with which I was charged, to reassure the natives of these countries, and the unanimous opinion was that they should be desired to keep themselves tranquil in their tents, and assure them that I have only come to treat with them of good things and explain to them the opinions of their father, Onontio. I drew up in writing their opinions, which they all signed. Here is the copy:

Council held by Mr. Celeron with the officers of his detachment and the chiefs, July 25th, 1749.

Having discovered yesterday, July 24th, at the base of the Lake Chatakium some signs, by which it appeared to us that the savages who were hunting in this place had been frightened by the number of canoes and people which composed our detachment, having abandoned their canoes, provisions and other utensils, useful to them, and that they had

<sup>\*</sup> Chautauqua.

carried the alarm to the village de la Paille Coupée, and as it is important in consequence of the orders of the Marquis de la Galissonière to speak to these nations, to make known to them his intentions, and not wishing to do anything without taking the advice of the officers and of the chiefs we have with us, we have assembled them to make known to them the orders with which we are charged, in order to take the most convincible measures to dissipate the terror which our march has spread. The advice of all having been collected, the unanimous opinion has been that to reassure these nations and have the opportunity to speak to them, there should be a canoe sent to the village de la Paille Coupée in which would embark Mr. Jonquière, lieutenant, with some Abenakes and three Iroquois, to carry to them three strings of wampum, and invite them to return, that their father had only come to treat with them on pleasant business.

Executed at our camp at the entrance of the River Chanongon (Shenango), July 25th.

All the officers signed.

As soon as the council finished I sent away Mr. de Jonquière; that done, I set out on my route and made nearly a league with much toil. At many places I was obliged to put forty men on each canoe to make them pass.

July 26th, 27th and 28th, I continued my route not without many obstacles, and notwithstanding all the precautions which I took to manage my boats, they were often in a bad state, owing to the low water.

July 29th, I entered at noon into the Belle Rivière \* (Ohio). I buried a lead plate, on which is engraved the possession taken, in the name of the king, of this river and of all those which fall into it. I also attached to a tree the arms of the king, engraved on a sheet of white iron, and over all I drew up a Procès Verbal, which the officers and myself signed.

Copy of the Procès Verbal, of the position of the lead plate and the arms of the king, placed at the entrance of la Belle Rivière (Ohio) with the inscription:

The year 1749, Celeron, Chevalier of the Order Royal and Military of St. Louis, Captain Commanding a Detachment sent by the orders of Marquis de Gallissonniere, Commander General of Canada on the Belle Rivière, otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachments, have buried, at the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the river Ohio (Oyo) and of the Chanangon and at 40° 51′ 23″ a lead plate with the inscription:

In the year 1749 of the reign of Louis XV, King of France, I,

<sup>\*</sup> Now Allegheny.

Celeron, Commander of the Detachment sent by the Marquis de la Gallissonnière, Commanding General of New France, to re-establish tranquillity in some villages of these cantons, we have buried this plate, at the confluence of the Ohio (Allegheny) and Kanaragon (Conewago, now Warren), as a monument of the renewal of possession we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those that therein empty.'

For years before the outbreak of the war for independence from England, the encroachments of the English had been watched by the Indians with alarm. It was not in human nature for any race, whether civilized or aborigines, to witness such an invasion without resentment. Alexander McKee, from whom McKees Rocks takes its name, and who was a Tory during the War of the Revolution, supplies a great deal of information in regard to the conditions surrounding Pittsburgh in the immediate pre-Revolutionary period.

McKee was deputy superintendent of Fort Pitt and was thoroughly conversant with the feelings of the Indians who repeatedly complained to him about the white aggressions. McKee's journal notes that on March 8, 1774, one of the Shawanese represented to McKee that it was within the power of the great men among the English to restrain the more unscrupulous members of their own race. He intimated that if they did not do this the foolish young Indian braves would take matters into their own hands. The red flags (surveyors' flags) carried by the English in their expeditions into the Indian country were particularly irritating to the tribes.

During this critical period, as a recent writer \* points out, it was the English who first committed violence. On April 16, 1774, an English trader named Stephens was rowing down the Ohio River from Fort Pitt when he saw a canoe coming up the river. Stephens swung his boat toward the other shore in order to give the strange canoe a wide berth. When his boat was near the shore, a shot rang out from the trees and his Shawanese helper fell dead. A second shot sounded and his other assistant, a Delaware, toppled into the water.

The other canoe, which contained Michael Cresap and some of his men, was now close. Cresap boasted that he would "put every Indian he met with on the river to death." Stephens believed that his Indian helpers had been killed by Cresap's associates who were concealed along the shore.

A brief skirmish occurred on May I, between Cresap's men and some Indians. One was killed on each side. Cresap captured five Indian canoes filled with supplies.

McKee feared the worst as the attacks upon the savages were unprovoked

<sup>\*</sup> Alexander McKee, a study by Walter R. Hoberg, A.B., for the University of Pittsburgh.

and vengeance would be sought soon. He sent messages immediately to King Custologa, Captains White Eyes, Pipe, and other nearby chiefs which read:

Brethren: We are under the necessity from some disagreeable intelligence which we have just received of calling upon your immediate attendance at this place, where we shall have some things of importance to communicate to you, which intimately concerns the welfare of us both; this will be sufficient we expect to induce your speedy appearance here as delays on this occasion may be attended with the most serious consequences.

The messages were accompanied by strings of white wampum.

Two days later, May 3, news came of another outrage perpetrated by the whites. Captain William Crawford and John Neville of Virginia reported at Fort Pitt that they had met a party of whites who had several Indian scalps. This party gave them the following facts about a recent clash:

A tribe of Indians had encamped on the banks of Yellow Creek. A man named Greathouse collected some whites at the home of a Virginian, Baker, who lived opposite the camp across the river. They decoyed two braves and two squaws over the river to drink with them. All four were killed and scalped as soon as they were drunk. Two more bucks came over to look for their friends and met the same fate. Six warriors rowed cautiously across the river to investigate as their suspicions were aroused. They were fired upon from the shore and four were killed. When the survivors returned to the village, melancholy lamentations were raised by the squaws and children. The famous Indian chief, Logan, was a member of this tribe. One of the slain squaws was the wife of a white trader. She had her child on her back when she was killed. The child was taken into custody of the murderers.

Meanwhile the council called by McKee opened on May 3rd, at Colonel Croghan's house. Captain Connolly, commander of the Virginia militia, was among those present. A delegation of Six Nations, led by Guyasuta, the White Mingo, attended the meeting. They were going to the Huron and Wabash Confederacy with speeches from Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs, in Canada. The Indians were addressed as follows:

Brethren: We are sorry to inform you that lately we have received accounts of some outrages being committed on several of your people going down the Ohio, by some ill-disposed white persons settled upon it; and we take the earliest opportunity of making you acquainted with what we have heard, in order to convince you that we discountenance so barbarous a breach of friendship with you, and we can assure you that it has not been done with the intent or knowledge of the Government, and we make no doubt your brother, the Governor of Virginia, when he

becomes fully acquainted with the circumstances of the unhappy loss you have sustained in so many of your people, that he and his wise men will fall upon the most salutary measures of doing you every justice that can be expected.

In the meantime we have to recommend to you in the most earnest manner, your affording every assistance in your power to accommodate this unfortunate breach which has happened, as you must be sensible that a general war between us must be attended with the greatest calamity on both sides.

The Indians returned the following answer:

Brethren: We have considered what you have said to us, and as the chiefs of the Delawares are expected in this night, or tomorrow, we will consult with them and then know what reply to make. But you may depend upon it, that we shall do everything in our power to keep things quiet which we make no doubt can be done, from the general peaceable disposition of our own people, provided you will be strong upon your parts in preventing your rash people from commencing any further hostilities upon the Indians.

There is no lack of evidence, in the voluminous records preserved by the *Pennsylvania Archives*, that there was a large degree of white responsibility for the Indian war of 1774 known as Lord Dunmore's War—so called because it occurred during the period when Fort Pitt was in the possession of Dr. Connolly, agent of Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia. Many trustworthy white witnesses, in affidavits made before Major (afterward General) Arthur St. Clair, recounted provocations suffered by the Indians at the hands of the whites. A better account of the rise of the war than the long and circumstantial affidavit made before St. Clair by Richard Butler, one of the most prominent English residents, could hardly be given. The affidavit follows:

As there is many different opinions concerning the Indian War it is the duty of every well meaning Person to declare what they know concerning it, the rise of it, and their opinion with regard to the Intent of the Natives. Therefore I do here briefly declare all I know of the matter, likewise the manner that the Shawanese behaved while I was among them, and the Treatment their People received while at Pittsburgh, after escorting the property of the different Traders to this place.

1stly. Through the last Winter they were as friendly as I have known them this four years past, and in general paid their debts as their ability would admit very well to me.

2dly. They were preparing for a great Summer Hunt, which I can't interpret into any hostile Intent by them.

3dly. When they heard of my Canoe being Robbed, and one of my Hands killed and one wounded by the Cherokees there was some of the Head Men and many of the People much concerned for my Loss and the mischief done to the People.

4thly. When they heard of one of their Head Men being murdered on the Ohio on his way home from Pittsburgh, it gave some uneasiness to think that one of their Head Men should be so served; but charged it to the account of some ill minded People, and seemed to be content that mischief was not the general Intent of the English towards them, therefore in their own way they buried his memory with a dance and Presents to his name.

5thly. A second Canoe of mine was attacked, & one Compass a Delaware Indian shot dead in her, that Mr. Wm. Butler had hired to take his Cargoe and Hands to me, the Hands escaped but my Property was all made away with and lost to me which was to a considerable amount.

6thly. The barbarous Murder near Yellow Creek on the Ohio of an Indian Family called Logans, alarmed the Shawanese very much, and I think the Traders and their People would have suffered by a few of the Mingoes that lived on the Sciota near to the Shawanese were it not for the pacific Intent and Interposition (I mean the friendly Intent of the Shawanese.)

7thly. On hearing the news of said murder three Mingoes men and one Boy, and one of the Shawanese People, the Son (as they say of an old negro called Caesar) set off to the Hockkockin with an Intent to murder & rob us in Revenge; on hearing which the Shawanese Head Men sent four of their own People, and one Mohickon man to preserve us from the danger that threatened us, which they did faithfully: for when the War Party came to our Camp they took them in and talked with them. and at length prevailed on them to turn home, which they did, and three of the Shawanese escorted me and one Robert George to the Towns, and the Nephew of one of the principal Head Men and the Mohickon Man stayed to preserve the People that staid with our Peltry and Horses 'till our Return, which was in about eight days; but said Mingoes getting Drunk on the way home they left us and turned back and stole some of my Horses, which was all they could get done, owing chiefly to the Vigilance of the Shawanese Men and two Mingoes called McClelans that we had hired to stay there.

8thly. When we were ready to come away, the Corn-Stalk, a Head Man sent his brother to escort us all the way to Pittsburgh, although the report of Logan and his party of Relations and Friends having gone to war had reached the lower Towns before we came away in Revenge for the loss of his Mother and other Relations. One of the above

named McClelans, a Mingo and the Mohickon man came with us and behaved in a careful, faithful, and friendly manner the whole way. The Corn-Stalk sent a Speech by the advice of several of their Head Men, addressed to the Governor of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Commandant at Pittsburgh, intreating them to put a stop to any further Hostilities, and they would endeavor to do the same.

9thly. When we arrived here the 16th of June, I waited on the Commandant Doctor Connolly, and requested he might afford Protection to the three Friend Indians that had so faithfully protected us, but he positively refused it. A few Days after I presented him with the Speech and again prayed his Protection, but was again refused, and he declared in a very ill-natured manner that he would not speak to them, in the Presence of Devrx. Smith, Esqr.

10thly. The Sunday following an armed Party of near forty men went out as we were informed to take these poor Indians, but the Traders thought it so horrid an act, and acting in violation of all Laws of Friendship with trouble got them away in safety, and made them handsome Presents for their Friendship and Fidelity and sent them away well satisfied with us.

11thly. We were informed that a Party fired upon them near the mouth of Beaver Creek, & wounded the Mohickon Man, it is thought by one William Lin and his Party who we are likewise creditably informed intended to murder & rob the Traders as we came up the River.

These Facts I think was sufficient to bring on a war with a Christian instead of a Savage People, and I do declare it as my opinion that the Shawanese did not intend a war this Season, let their future Intentions be what they might; and I do likewise declare that I am afraid from the Proceedings of the Chief of the White People in their Part of the Country that they will bring on a general war, as there is so little pains taken to restrain the common people whose prejudice leads them to greater lengths than ought to be shown by civilized People, and their Superiors take too little if any pains, and I do really think is much to blame themselves in the whole Affair.

RICHARD BUTLER.

Sworn and Subscribed the 23d of Augt, 1774, before me,

Ar. St. CLAIR.

If any corroboration of this evidence of white aggression were needed it would be supplied by the testimony of unimpeachable white witnesses, none of them more prominent, or in better position to know the truth, than Colonel George Morgan.

Morgan was a man of the highest character, who was born in Philadelphia in 1741, and graduated from Princeton University in 1764. In June, 1766, he was at Fort Pitt with 13 boats which he loaded with merchandise for the western trade, starting down the Ohio on June 18, accompanied by Colonel George Croghan. Morgan not many years afterward was to be designated by the Continental Congress as Indian Agent at Fort Pitt. For this position the experience which he was to acquire as an Indian trader so soon after his graduation from college gave him admirable qualifications. Croghan, who accompanied him on the expedition of 1766, had opened the Indian country to English trade the year before by meeting the Indians in several conferences and persuading them to recognize the English as overlords in place of the French. For the trade which Morgan and his Philadelphia business partners opened up with the Indians in the Illinois country the headquarters were at Fort Chartres. Although it is true that he maintained his residence in Philadelphia while carrying on trade in the Illinois country, he became acquainted with the Indian chiefs and accustomed to the Indian ways. When it became necessary to appoint an Indian agent at Fort Pitt, the Continental Congress naturally took note of his exceptional fitness and tendered him the appointment on April 10, 1776. He held the office until May 28, 1779.

His first concern was to secure as early a conference with the Indian chiefs as possible. He soon found serious obstacles. The Indians trusted neither of the white governments, but the one persuasion that they were susceptible to was gold and this the agents of the British government managed to supply to them in considerable quantities. Repeatedly Col. Morgan's arrangements for a conference and treaty with the Shawanese, Delaware and Seneca Chiefs at Fort Pitt were foiled by British interference. Morgan, in expectation of a conference in June, asked the Continental Congress to forward him treaty instructions. At the same time he sent a letter to the British headquarters in Detroit bearing a warning that if there were Indian depredations he would hold the British responsible and retaliate.

The proposed council with the Indians in June having been thwarted, Morgan himself set out on a mission to the western Indian tribes. Congress meanwhile fixed on July 10 as a date for the council with the Indians at the fort, but like the council of June this one failed to materialize.

Jasper Yeats and John Montgomery, who had been appointed (on July 4, 1776) by Congress as Indian Commissioners for the Middle Department with headquarters in Pittsburgh, agreed with Morgan in August that he should go to Philadelphia and endeavor to secure the Government's support of a policy of buying Indian friendship by gifts. Notwithstanding that a meeting with Kiyasuta (Guyasuta) in July brought forth from that famous chieftain a statement that the Six Nations would not permit either the

Americans or the English troops to operate in their country, there was no general council with the Indians until the fall of 1776.

A valuable study of the administration of Col. Morgan as Indian Agent at Fort Pitt\* reveals that it is not certain whether Morgan was present throughout the council, but it is evident that he participated before the treaty was actually formulated. The agreement seems to have been reached in late October. At any rate, it was on November 8, 1776, that Col. Morgan wrote to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress:

I have the happiness to inform you that the cloud which threatened to break over us is likely to disperse. Six Nations with the Munsies, Delawares, Shawanese and Mohicons, who have been assembled here with their principal chiefs and warriors to the number of 644, have given the strongest assurance of their determination to preserve inviolate the peace and neutrality of the United States.

Because of the failure of the treaty to reassure the white settlers as fully as had been hoped, the exodus of settlers continued. In his letter to Hancock. Morgan declared that the country was evacuated "for two hundred miles in extent, except where some of them (settlers) forted and proposed to make a stand." Morgan regarded the retreat of the pioneer settlers to safer regions as a tremendous calamity. He did not, however, regard it as actually warranted by any genuine hostile Indian intent. He attributed it rather to exaggerated rumors that alarmists had spread in August and September concerning the Indians' supposedly hostile intentions. Morgan, in fact, wrote to the President of the Continental Congress on January 4, 1777, that the western Indians were quiet. There had been a few murders by Indians after the peace treaty of the preceding fall, but he had sufficient faith in the Indians' good intentions to advocate the reduction of the frontier forces by two regiments of troops. It was in conformity to his recommendation that Congress asked the Governor of Virginia to transfer two regiments of western troops to the command of General Washington in New Jersey.

It was stipulated by Morgan, when he made this gesture of Indian faith, that it was conditioned upon the continuance of friendly treatment of the Indians by the whites.

In the early spring of 1777 Morgan discovered that the danger of Indian uprisings was greater than he anticipated. The Iroquois tribes in the north were particularly threatening. The British Commandant at Niagara had acquired no little influence with these tribes and it was his prompting, no doubt, which explained at least part of the bitterness with which the Iroquois complained that they had been robbed of their lands.

<sup>\*</sup> Col. George Morgan at Fort Pitt, a study by Walter R. Fee, A.B., for University of Pittsburgh.

Morgan met this menace with a letter to Hancock stating that it could not be denied that encroachments had been made on the lands of the northern Indians, and recommending that Congress take whatever measures seemed expedient in an attempt to redress their grievances.

In the fall of 1777, new Indian depredations by the Indians occurred down the Ohio. Brigadier-General Edward Hand of the Continental Army, who had arrived at Fort Pitt the preceding June and assumed command, attempted to raise a volunteer army for a punitive expedition down the Ohio with the villages of the Wyandottes and Mingoes as its particular objective, these tribes having been the most troublesome. The expedition was abandoned because of General Hand's inability to raise a force of more than 800 men in place of the 2,000 who would have been required.

In September, by Hand's order, Col. Samuel Moorhead abandoned the fort at Kittanning. The whole Ohio country took fresh alarm from this evacuation; there were predictions that the frontier would be forced back eastward to the Alleghany Mountains.

During the next year Congress instituted a more vigorous policy of defense and retaliation against the Indians in this region. Two additional regiments for the defense of the frontier were raised in Virginia and Pennsylvania in 1778, and in August, 1779, Col. Broadhead, the new Commandant at Fort Pitt, led an expedition against the Indians up the Allegheny Valley, not stopping until he reached the New York State line. In that same year a stockade fort, called Fort Armstrong, was built two miles below Kittanning. General Washington had for some time planned not only the erection of this fort but of one at Venango also. The Venango fort did not actually come into being until eight years later, when by command of Colonel Harmar, Captain Hart threw up an earthwork at this place which was named Fort Franklin in honor of the illustrious patriot, statesman and philosopher, Benjamin Franklin.

Foes from within as well as foes from without disturbed the settlement around Fort Pitt during the Revolutionary War. Not a few residents were suspected of disloyalty, and one of them, the Alexander McKee already mentioned, actually secured a captain's commission from the British and in March, 1778, left Pittsburgh accompanied by a renegade Indian interpreter, Simon Girty, and joined the enemy. Both McKee and Girty did their utmost to excite Indian outbreaks against the fort and were held by all the patriots in the greatest abhorrence.

Fear of the Indians overhung Pittsburgh constantly during the Revolutionary struggle, but as one of the historians of this era remarks, the frontier had more enemies than the British and the Indians. Chief among these was the depreciated paper money—the "Continental currency." A meeting of the officers of the line and staff of the Western Department, held in Pittsburgh

in October, 1779, denounced the traders who had become speculators in this currency. At the same meeting a select committee was appointed to collect all the necessary information to indicate what prices goods ought to sell at, and a later meeting adopted this resolution:

Resolved, that the Commandant of the Western Department be waited upon by a committee and earnestly requested for the good of the community as well as the army that all such traders be immediately ordered to withdraw themselves and property from this post, we being fully determined to have a reasonable trade or no trade, and live upon our rations and hope our country can afford us: and should it be necessary, clothe ourselves with the produce of the forests, rather than live upon the virtuous part of the community to gratify our sanguinary enemies and enrich rapacity; and as it is the unanimous opinion of this committee that the specious designing speculator is a monster of a deeper dye, and more malignant nature, than the savage Mingo in the wilderness, whose mischiefs are partial, while those occasioned by the speculators have become universal.



# CHAPTER V

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION



### CHAPTER V

#### THE WHISKY INSURRECTION

Domestic War Clouds in 1791 Disturb New Federal Government—Five Western Pennsylvania Counties Join Portion of Virginia in Resisting Secretary Hamilton's Excise Tax—Racial and Hereditary Prejudice Against Sumptuary Legislation—Distilling Universal and Tax Bitterly Resented for Economic as Well as Traditional Reasons—Attacks Throughout Western Pennsylvania Upon Excise Collectors—Gallatin, Judge Brackenridge, and Other Leading Citizens Among the Insurgents—Meetings at Pittsburgh and Brownsville Propose Armed Resistance—Burning of General Neville's Residence—Washington Assembles Army of 15,000 Men and Orders It to March on Pittsburgh—Insurrection Collapses with Hundreds of Arrests by Federal Authorities.

In 1791 there developed in Pittsburgh and in several of the adjoining counties a situation which for several years fomented lawlessness and various organized disorders upon a scale so extensive as to give the gravest anxiety to President Washington and raise serious questions as to the permanence of the newly born republic. The disturbance in its beginnings was due to purely administrative policies, relating especially to the manner in which revenue should be raised for the new National Government. But as these policies were susceptible of a partisan political interpretation and originated with General Alexander Hamilton, Washington's Secretary of Treasury, who was the acknowledged leader of the Federalist Party and the protagonist of a strongly centralized government, partisan feeling of the most venomous sort eventually complicated the trouble, even Washington himself not escaping unscathed from the rancorous vituperation so freely indulged in by radical factionists on either side.

The insurrection, as it was then called—the Whisky Insurrection as it is more explicitly named in later histories—extended over almost all of Western Pennsylvania. Starting as a protest of this section of the country against the Federal Government's resort to a tax on whisky as a means of revenue, it threatened during its course to become a movement against the Government itself. It was, of course, at no time an evidence that Western Pennsylvania was more addicted to consumption of liquors than other parts of the country. There was neither more nor less drinking here than elsewhere in America.

In all parts of the country consumption of liquors was general, but there was this important difference between Western Pennsylvania and many other sections of the United States, that here the distillation of liquor was the most important of all the industries. The difficulty and the high cost of transportation of liquors across the mountains, combined with the importance of our grain crop to make liquors our staple commodity. They became not only the principal source of revenue of thousands of the farmers, but were actually a medium of exchange, owing to the instability of the currency.

Two years after the inauguration of General Washington as President, his Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, included a tax upon liquors and stills in his inventory of taxables. Congress laid such a tax by the Revenue Act of March, 1791. Primarily the people did not give much serious attention to the passage of this law, although their members of Congress had strenuously fought it, sensible of the feeling among their constituents and knowing its relation to the economics of their communities. It was not long, however, until all of the people were aware of the deep sincerity of Secretary Hamilton and of his determination to collect the tax in every locality in the United States. The appointment of collectors was placidly awaited "because it was intended to give these officials anything but a placid reception."

This was the disposition in five counties in Pennsylvania and about as many in the State of Virginia, which then impinged upon these Pennsylvania counties. As one historian says,\* it was an impressive insurrection. In the first case, "the blood and brain of the opponents to the tax, the Gaelic element that dominated the settlements, nearly all Protestants, were racially and hereditarily against the practice of taxing food and drink. In the second place, these people had no money with which to pay the tax, were they otherwise disposed to pay it. Thirdly, they were confronted with the fact that they must appear in the United States Court at Philadelphia in defense of all charges that might be made against them. Fourthly, there was, as was developed, a deep political aversion to the scheme of taxation that went as far as all of the others together to make up the unity of opposition. Fifthly, the contagion of the virus of the French Revolution was spreading itself throughout the colonies as rapidly as it might conversationally (the papers of the day being as accessory to the spread as their limited circulation permitted). This region was not insensible to this propaganda and it mixed freely with that concerning the alleged iniquities of the whisky tax."

Already, too, the question of erecting a new State of some description with this section as a nucleus, extending along the north and west as well as south of the Ohio River, "was in the currency of comment on conditions and in

<sup>\*</sup> George T. Fleming, History of Pittsburgh.

suggestions of possible remedies. There was no state west of Pennsylvania, and there was abundance of material for a government of larger dimensions than those of the new republic in the vast areas beyond the Ohio. As early as 1782 there had been much talk of secession from the State of Pennsylvania, at least, and possibly from the United States at most. Some very illuminating correspondence between General Washington and General Irvine twelve years before had taken place relative to this very subject, but nothing tangible resulted. General Irvine was in command of Fort Pitt at the time."

Again, until 1771, the whole of Western and Southwestern Pennsylvania was included in Cumberland County, but the multiplication of inhabitants in this section made it very inconvenient to go to the county seat of Cumberland County, Carlisle, to attend to peremptory legal business and presently the counties of Bedford (1771), Westmoreland (1773), Washington (1781), Fayette (1783), and Allegheny (1788), were created with respective county seats. These five counties constituting all of Western Pennsylvania, with an aggregate population of 87,473,\* were in opposition to the tax in its every aspect and were in a temper to go to any extent to effectuate this opposition. It was also urged that the Hamilton law imposed a tax both upon the liquor and upon the still as well, the latter being graded as to the size of the still.

Whisky then was really the medium of exchange not merely between the East and the West, but largely also it was the local medium, this consequent upon the depreciated currency. Farmers, all growers of grain, were distillers from dire necessity, and all urged that the law would operate peculiarly severely upon the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania from the fact that they had no direct communication with the East, except by transporting their productions in the form of distilled liquor upon pack horses, and that the blow would, if carried out, prostrate their trade, their business, and their future prospects; and they boldly contended that the fact need not be disguised nor concealed, that nowhere in the United States could a population of 87,000 people be found where there were as many stills and consequently as much liquor distilled as in Western Pennsylvania. But the reason was self-evident. There were neither large commission houses nor large distilleries to purchase the grain, and, had such been the case, there was no mode of transportation except upon pack horses, each horse carrying but four bushels of grain. Hence, in every neighborhood some farmer became a distiller from necessity, and he not only manufactured his own grain into whisky, but also that of five or six of his immediate neighbors. Upon a fair calculation, therefore, every sixth man became a distiller, but all equally bound to resist the excise law, which would fall heavily upon every farmer, as the money which they would procure in the East from the sale of their

<sup>\*</sup> Pittsburgh's population at this time was 1,200.

liquor would on their return be demanded by the excise officer to keep up the expenses of the government. The excise law provided for the erection of inspection districts, in each of which an inspector was appointed whose duty it was to examine all distilleries, capacity of stills, gauge their barrels, brand their casks, and note in his book the result, and, to crown the iniquity of the act, with its most odious feature, the duty imposed on each was required to be paid on the liquors before they were removed from the distilleries.

Notwithstanding the appointment of collectors, the people held meetings and passed resolutions condemning every man who would accept the office in the following words:

That whereas, Some men may be found among us, so far lost to every sense of virtue and all feeling for the distresses of their country as to accept the office of collector, therefore, Resolved, that in future we shall consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealing with them, withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve, and that it be and is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

A meeting was held in Washington, Pennsylvania, in 1791, of which Albert Gallatin, who was present, said:

The persons assembled not only agreed to remonstrate, but they expressed a determination to hold no communication with and to treat with contempt such inhabitants of the western country as would accept offices under the law; and recommended the same line of conduct to the people at large.

Nehemiah Stokely and John Young, of Westmoreland County; Col. James Marshall, Rev. David Phillips, and David Bradford, of Washington County; Col. Edward Cook, Nathaniel Bradley and John Oliphant, of Fayette County; and Thomas Morton, John Woods and William Plumer of Allegheny County, representing the distillers and non-conformists of these counties, met in Pittsburgh, September 7, 1791, to consider affairs and to take action relative to them. Col. Cook presided and Mr. Young acted as secretary. This delegate assembly considered the "general inequalities coming into legislative vogue in the United States with alarming frequency," such as the "unreasonable interest on the public debt"; "that in establishing a national bank, thereby constituting a capital of many millions in the hands of a very few persons who may influence those occasionally in power to evade the con-





stitution" and in other censurable instances perverting the intent and object of the republic, and many other things, and before adjourning resolved, "That the act laying duties upon distilled spirits in the United States, passed the third of March, 1791, is deservedly obnoxious to the feelings and interests of the people in general as being attended with infringements on liberty, partial in its operations, attended with great expense in the collection, and liable to much abuse. It operates on a domestic manufacture, a manufacture not equal throughout the States. It is insulting to the feelings of the people to have their vessels marked, to have their houses painted and ransacked, to be subject to informers gaining by the occasional delinquency of others. It is a bad precedent tending to introduce the excise laws of Great Britain where the liberty, property and even the morals of the people are sported with to gratify particular men in their ambitious and interested measures." It was also resolved:

That in the opinion of this committee the duties imposed by the said action, spirits distilled from the product of the soil of the United States, will eventually discourage agriculture and a manufacture highly beneficial to the present state of the country; that those duties will fall heavily especially upon western parts of the United States, which are for the most part newly settled and where the aggregate of the citizens is of the laborious and poorer class, who have not the means of procuring the wines, spirituous liquors, etc., imported from foreign countries.

Resolved, That there appears to be no substantial difference between a duty upon what is manufactured from the produce of a country and the produce in its natural shape, except, perhaps, that in the first instance the article is more deserving of the encouragement of wise legislation, as promotive of industry, the population, and strength of the country at large. The excise on home-made spirituous liquors affects particularly the raising of grain, especially rye, and there can be no solid reason for taxing it more than any other article of the growth of the United States.

The committee adjourned after deciding to send their resolution to Congress, to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* for publication.

After many similar meetings throughout the section affected by the operation of the excise laws, the people gradually began to take steps to concert movements looking to personal action in their own districts to protect themselves. Congress having refused to grant their petitions, they began objectively to assert themselves. Robert Johnson, collector for Washington and Allegheny Counties, was captured on the night of September 6, 1791, near Pigeon Creek, in Washington County, stripped, tarred and feathered.

his hair cut, and he was then compelled to promise "not to show his face again west of the mountains." The perpetrators of this deed were not arrested or interfered with, because "while the people pitied the officer, they despised the law." They also felt assured that the Governor of Pennsylvania would not insist upon the collection of the excise tax, as he considered it onerous and unjust. Early in May, 1792, the duty was somewhat modified and the payments were made monthly instead of at one time.

President Washington in September, 1792, issued a proclamation warning all persons to obey the law, saving the government was resolved to prosecute delinquents and to seize all unexcised spirits on their way to market, and that none but tax-paid spirits would be bought for use of the army. Meantime the malcontents were becoming hostilely active and very proscriptive. They made it most uncomfortable, indeed unendurable, for those citizens who attempted to pay taxes upon their distillates or to obey the law. Magistrates bluntly asserted that it was out of the question to afford protection to observers of the law "owing to the too general combination of the people in Western Pennsylvania to oppose the revenue laws." This "combination of the people" related to a "powerful, secret and indiscoverable organization which had unlimited control and universal influence over every man; secret, except the name of the leader; powerful to avenge and punish imaginary wrongs; and indiscoverable because an investigation as to the place of meeting only mystified, embarrassed and bewildered, and the investigator suffered by the loss of his property." In July, 1794, Dr. James Carnahan, then a student in Jefferson Academy, witnessed the tarring and feathering of John Lynn, a deputy inspector, by a company of local citizens who left the victim tied to a tree. Dr. Carnahan was afterwards president of Princeton College.

In 1793 a crowd broke into the house of Benjamin Wells, of Connellsville, Fayette County, abused him and members of his family, compelling him later to surrender his commission. The sheriff of the county refused to serve warrants issued in this and other cases. In January of 1794 the barn of Robert Strawhan was burned, the stills of James Kiddoo ruined, the house of John Wells, collector of Westmoreland County, burned, as well as the barn of P. Regan, in whose house Wells had his office. The culminating outrage was the burning of the house of Gen. Neville, chief excise officer, in a riot in which several persons were killed, in July, 1794.

While the mainspring of the uprising was economic, it was its political implications that drew into it one of its most picturesque and celebrated figures on the side of the insurgents. This was Albert Gallatin, destined to become Secretary of the Treasury, and fresh from Europe with a radical enthusiasm, imbibed from the French Revolution, which was violently distrustful of every such political philosophy as that of Hamilton. This Swiss patriot living in Fayette County was one of the dynamic inspirations of the

resistance, although he was too much of a loyalist to the new nation to encourage armed rebellion, especially after it became apparent that the insurrection was being encouraged by traitorous conspirators hoping to bring about secession from the United States and the establishment of a new commonwealth with or without a British protectorate. Thus after Congress modified the law in 1794 Gallatin took part in a meeting of 260 delegates, representing the anti-tax party, at Parkinson Ferry, now Monongahela City, on the 14th of August, and vigorously favored a conference with the commissioners representing the Federal Government. Still later, Gallatin's influence was effectively exercised on the subject of moderation and peace when the Federal Commissioners proposed an amnesty. This amnesty was accepted at a meeting of the insurgents at Red Stone Fort, August 28, 1794. Nobody on the insurgent side contributed more to the victory for reason than Mr. Gallatin and a distinguished citizen of Pittsburgh, Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge.

The Commissioners who by appointment of President Washington represented the Federal Government in the peace negotiations were Chief Justice McKean of the Supreme Court, General William Irvine, James Ross, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, Jasper Yeats, Associate Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and William Bradford, Attorney-General. On the insurgent side action was entrusted to a committee of three members from each county, as follows: Washington County, Pennsylvania, David Bradford, James Marshall, and James Edgar; Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, Judge Hugh H. Brackenridge, Thomas Moreton, and J. B. C. Lucas; Fayette County, Pennsylvania, Albert Gallatin, Edward Cook, and James Lang; Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, John Kirkpatrick, George Smith, and John Powers; Bedford County, Pennsylvania, Herman Husbands; Ohio County, Virginia, William Sutherland.

Before the final agreement there were many moments in which the Federal Commissioners and all other friends of peace were plunged into extreme despair. For example, the terms of the amnesty had required the assembling of the voters at the polls on Thursday, September 11, for the purpose of ratifying the settlement and pledging the electors to cease opposing the execution of the revenue act as well as to support all officers of the government in the exercise of their authority. It happened that there was a rather suspicious-looking "stay-at-home vote," only 3,280 out of an aggregate of 13,800 taxables registering themselves in favor of the Government's proposal. The Federal Commissioners, construing this result as a sign of sullen resistance on the part of the great body of citizens, went so far as to report to President Washington that the Government's terms had been rejected and that military measures were advisable. The President had already issued a proclamation denouncing the insurrection and calling for the mobilization of the military forces of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia and Maryland, at

places designated. A total of 11,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and 450 artillery troops had been called out. President Washington directed General David Morgan to move the Virginia troops; General Samuel Smith those of Maryland; General William Irvine those of Pennsylvania, and Governor Richard Howe those of New Jersey. General Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia, was appointed to the general command. Washington himself reviewed the army at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on October 10. General Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, was with the Pennsylvania troops. Another national figure accompanying the troops was General Knox, Secretary of War in Washington's Cabinet; still another was Judge Peters of the United States Court.

Headed toward Pittsburgh, the troops executed hundreds of warrants for the arrest of citizens charged with resistance to the enforcement of the excise laws. These arrests were made under special orders issued by General Lee to General Irvine and other officers. In not a few cases the warrants charged not merely resistance to enforcing officers, but treasonable acts and utterances against the Federal Government. Only two of the prisoners were actually brought to trial and convicted, and these two were subsequently pardoned. All, however, were put to great distress of mind and body. Many, after being brought to Pittsburgh, were sent to Philadelphia for trial, and there held for some time. The whole invaded region was in a state of terror. A considerable part of the population of the whole Monongahela River country as far as the Virginia line was homeless and fugitive for fear of military arrest. From General Lee down to the lowest in command, the officers emphatically declared the Government determined to make resistance a painful experience.

In view of the insignificant number of cases actually prosecuted to the point of conviction, the Federal mountain may have seemed at first glance to have labored to bring forth a mouse. Only, however, to a superficial view is this the case. Conviction and punishment were not resorted to solely for the reason that the Government achieved its end without them. That end was the demonstration to the people of Western Pennsylvania that the Federal power had become really paramount and was not to be trifled with.

David Bradford, one of the insurrectionary leaders as to whose treasonable activities there seems to be no doubt (at the Red Stone Fort meeting he had publicly urged the formation of an independent government), escaped by embarking in a canoe at McKees Rocks and proceeding down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers by furtive stages until he reached Louisiana.

The chronicles of the insurrection inform us that of all of the hundreds of prisoners taken and confined, mostly in the Fort at Pittsburgh, only eighteen were sent to Philadelphia for trial. These were Rev. John Corbly, Cols. John Crawford and John Hamilton, John Black, David Bolton, James

Kerr, Thomas Sedgwick, John Burnett, and Capt. Robert Porter, of Washington County; and Marmaduke Curtiss, Joseph Scott, James Stewart, Thomas Miller, Thomas Burney and Isaac Walker, Allegheny County; Caleb Mounts, Fayette County, and John Laughery, Ohio County, Virginia. These men were

Called out of the garrison at Pittsburgh, November 25th, surrounded by forty of the garrison soldiers, under command of Ensign McCleary. and paraded before a detachment of Maj. James Durham's troop of cavalry, to whose charge they were to be delivered at Greensburg. They were then placed in the center of these soldiers, under McCleary, and started for Greensburg, where they arrived November 27th and lodged in jail. Philip Wylie and Joseph Parey were already in that jail. On the 20th they were taken from the jail and paraded in the street, mid-leg deep in mud and snow, and formally delivered to Major Durham and then proceeded on their weary march to Philadelphia. The order of marching was, each prisoner marching on foot between two of the troop, or guard on horseback, who were ordered by Blackbeard (Gen. Anthony M. White) to keep their swords always drawn and if any attempt were made to rescue them that the heads of the prisoners should be cut off and brought to Philadelphia. At night they were lodged in cellars, barns, and such other places as suited the disposition or fancy of the guard.

Such was the order of their weary and dismal march to Philadelphia for thirty days in snow and mud in the most inclement season of the year. This report is from the diary of Capt. Robert Porter, one of the prisoners. He continues:

On the 25th of December, paraded before the Black Horse Tavern (in Philadelphia). The prisoners, drawn up, rank and file, were given slips of white paper as cockades by the major, to be put in their hats to distinguish them from the rest of the crowd they were to be marched through; or as trophies of victory. The prisoners, after having been marched through the streets, in view of a great concourse of spectators, were lodged in the new jail. The Rev. John Corbly was admitted to bail March 4th. Captain Porter, when no evidence was presented, was acquitted by the jury, after six months' imprisonment, May 18, 1795, as were all of the other prisoners, excepting John Mitchell, a weak-minded man, who robbed the mail near Greensburg for Bradford and others. General Morgan tried to chase him out of camp when he wanted to give himself up and gave him every chance to escape before he was sent to jail, but he was unwilling to get away. He pleaded guilty to the charge

of mail-robbing and was sentenced to be hanged, but was reprieved and then pardoned by the President.'

One of the best known histories of the insurrection is that which was written in 1859 by H. M. Brackenridge, son of H. H. Brackenridge. It had as one of its prime motives the defense of H. H. Brackenridge's part in the affair, and it sympathetically interprets the motives of the insurrectionists as a body. This book supplies the facts from which subsequent historians deduce the conclusion expressed by so many of them to the effect that H. H. Brackenridge at no time countenanced the rash and treasonable counsels and utterances of such men as David Bradford, but rather joined the movement as a leader with a belief that he could help to lead it in saner directions than those proposed by some of the hotheads.

From this carefully prepared and ingeniously written work we quote the following paragraphs:

The number of very superior men brought on the stage by the Western Insurrection cannot fail to excite surprise. The rapid increase of population, toward the close of the Revolutionary war, somewhat alloyed the original character, by the accession of numbers, among whom there was a proportion of desperate characters; and although the farmers were orderly and respectable, many of them possessing considerable landed wealth, yet there were others, little better than mere squatters, ready to engage in lawless enterprises at the instigation of a popular leader. The four western counties, at the time of the Western Insurrection, or riots (Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny), contained about seventy thousand inhabitants, scattered over an extent of country nearly as great as that of Scotland or Ireland. Except Pittsburgh, which contained about twelve hundred souls, there were no towns except the few places appointed for holding the courts of justice in each county. There were scarcely any roads, the population had to find their way as they could through paths or woods, while the mountains formed a barrier which could only be passed on foot or on horseback. The only trade with the East was by pack-horses; while the navigation of the Ohio was closed by Indian wars, even if a market could have been found by descending its current.

The farmers, having no market for their produce, were from necessity compelled to reduce its bulk by converting their grain into whiskey; a horse could carry two kegs of eight gallons each, worth about fifty cents per gallon on this, and one dollar on the other side of the mountains, while he returned with a little iron and salt, worth at Pittsburgh, the former fifteen to twenty cents per pound, the latter five dollars per bushel. The still was therefore the necessary appendage of every farm

where the farmer was able to procure it; if not, he was compelled to carry his grain to the more wealthy to be distilled. In fact, some of these distilleries on a large scale, were friendly to the excise laws, as it rendered the poorer farmers dependent on them.

Such excise laws had always been unpopular among the small farmers in Great Britain; they excited hatred, which they brought with them to this country, and which may be regarded as hereditary. Scarcely any of the causes of complaint which led to the revolution had so strong a hold on the people of Pennsylvania as the stamp act, an excise regarded as an oppressive tax on colonial industry. Every attempt of the Colony, or State, to enforce the excise on home distilled spirits had failed; and so fully were the authorities convinced that they could not be enforced, that the last law on the subject, after remaining a dead letter on the statute book, was repealed just before the attempt to introduce it under the Federal financial system, by the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton. The inequality of the duty between the farmers on the west and on the east side of the mountains, could not fail to strike the most common mind; for the rate per gallon on both sides was the same, vet the article on the west was worth but half of that on the other side. There were, moreover, circumstances necessarily attending the collection of the tax revolting to the minds of a free people. Instead of a general assessment, a license system confined to a few dealers on a large scale. or an indirect tax on foreign imports, while in the hands of the importers or retailers; this tax created a numerous host of petty officers, scattered over the country as spies on the industry of the people, and practically authorized at almost any moment to inflict domiciliary visits on them, to make arbitrary seizures, and commit other vexatious acts: the tax was thus brought to bear on almost each individual cultivator of the soil. Laws which cannot be enforced but by such means, no matter what may be their object or moral nature, will always be revolting to the spirit of our people, and be executed with difficulty, or often evaded, laving the foundation of distrust in the government, and want of mutual confidence between it and the people, which no fancied or real good can ever compensate. Nothing but the stern mandate of constitutional obligation can reconcile them to such laws. In this case, it is an act of duty; in the others, merely an experiment of expediency, which ought to be abandoned, when found to be in opposition to the wishes and feelings of the country—or even of a large portion of its citizens, no matter how plausible the reasons which sustain them. It is not the intention of the writer to discuss the intrinsic merits of the excise laws, nor to weigh the justice of all the complaints made by the people of the West against them. Secretary Hamilton, in his Treasury Report of 1792, has said

everything in their favor necessary to form a sound judgment; and while much of his reasoning is satisfactory, there is also much, especially in what relates to the western counties, which is far from being so.

The first Pennsylvania excise law was passed in 1756,\* then under the province or government of the Penns. A second act was passed in 1772: the object of these was to redeem certain bills for debts incurred by the government. An exception was made in favor of spirits distilled from the products of the province, for the use of the owner. During the revolution, 1777, the law was extended, and some new provisions made to render the collection more effectual. Collectors were appointed for the western counties, but no attempt was made to collect the duties. It was regarded as an ignominious service, chiefly owing to the traditionary prejudices of the Scotch-Irish, as already mentioned, who formed the great body of the population. The domiciliary visits, the arbitrary seizures, and other despotic acts, practically authorized, as already observed, rendered them practically odious. The violation of the domicile was regarded by the common people with horror; they were always ready to treat with contempt, if not to assail with actual violence, those who, for the sake of a little money, would accept such disreputable employment. About the year 1783, the Council of State became satisfied, from the prevailing odium in the western country, that no person could be got to accept the office, or if appointed, would offend their neighbors by an inquiry on the subject of the duties, or by searching their premises for that purpose. A certain Graham, a man of broken fortune, who had kept a public house in Philadephia, was found willing to accept the appointment of Collector General for the West; but when he undertook to exercise his office he was treated with every possible contumely. Being unable to execute the law, he occasionally compounded for small sums, which he appropriated to his own use. The people occasionally amused themselves at his expense, by singeing his wig, or putting coals into his boots.

Such was the state of the public mind when the United States excise law was enacted in March, 1791. While the bill was before Congress, the subject was taken up by the State Legislature, then in session, and resolutions were passed in strong terms against the law, and requesting the senators and representatives, by a majority of thirty-six to eleven, to oppose its passage; the minority voting on the principle that it was improper to interfere with the actions of the Federal government, and not from approval of the law. They objected, also, to the inconsistency of approving a United States excise law while the State law was still unre-

<sup>\*</sup>There is mention of excise long before this date, but it appears to mean license or tax on sale; except, perhaps, that in Colonial Records, vol. III-xii: 248-9-50.

pealed. This had become absolute, but when attention was called to it, it was at once expunged from the statute book.\*

The Secretary of the Treasury, in tracing the causes, laid great stress on the meetings held, and resolutions adopted by the people, against the law, but avoiding a reference to those passed by the State Legislature. Unfortunately he made no discrimination between the peaceful remonstrance and the passage of certain resolutions which he styled "intemperate." To his mind, they appeared equally factious, and even treasonable. According to this view, all right of remonstrance, or petition, or legal resistance to oppression, would be taken from the people. It was assuming the right to think for them, whether they were oppressed or not; as if those who feel the oppression are not the best judges of its extent and severity! Much of this, on the part of the Secretary, is to be ascribed to the imperfect ideas of the rights of the citizens at that day, compared with the more enlightened and liberal views which now prevail; among which is the unquestioned right freely to censure the conduct of government agents. It will be proper in this place to pass briefly in review the public meetings and the resolutions passed, so highly censured, in order that the reader may be enabled to judge for himself as to the soundness of the Secretary's report, drawn as it is, with great ability, and therefore requiring the more careful scrutiny. The writer does not approve of "violent and intemperate" resolutions, although they be but words.

The first meeting was at Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville), on the 27th July, 1791, at which Findley, Smiley, Marshall, and a number of the inhabitants were present. Col. Cook was chairman, and Albert Gallatin,

\*The following are the resolutions passed the State Legislature:

"House of Representatives, June 22d, 1791.

"The Legislature of this commonwealth, ever attentive to the rights of their constituents, and conceiving it a duty incumbent on them to express their sentiments on such matters of a public nature as in their opinion have a tendency to destroy their rights, have agreed to the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That any proceeding on the part of the United States, tending to the collection of revenue by means of excise, established on principles subversive of peace, liberty and the rights of the citizens, ought to attract the attention of this house.

"Resolved, That no public urgency, within the knowledge or contemplation of this house, can, in their opinion, warrant the adoption of any species of taxation which shall violate those rights which are the basis of our government, and which would exhibit the singular spectacle of a nation resolutely oppressing the oppressed of others in order to enslave itself.

"Resolved, That these sentiments be communicated to the senators representing the State of Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States, with a hope that they will oppose every part of the excise bill now before the Congress, which shall militate against the rights and liberties of the people."

secretary. It was resolved at this meeting, that it be recommended to the several counties to appoint delegates, at least three for each elective district, to meet at the seat of justice, and having collected the sense of the people in each county, from each of these delegates choose three to form a committee. These were to meet at Pittsburgh, on the first Tuesday of September, and there draw up and pass resolutions expressing the sense of their constituents respecting the excise law.\*

The meeting at Redstone, it will be perceived, was only preliminary to that to convene at Pittsburgh. No resolutions were passed relative to the excise law, and according to Findley, many who attended it were desirous of reconciling the people to submission. He expresses his surprise that the Secretary should refer to it as one of the causes of the insurrection.

At the preparatory meeting for the county of Washington, some resolutions of a violent character were adopted by way of instructions for the delegates who were to attend at Pittsburgh. They were modeled after those passed before the Revolutionary war in relation to the stamp act and other excises. The language in which they were couched must be ascribed to the individuals who composed the meetings; it would be unfair to consider them as emanating from the majority of the people, who were but partially represented. At the meeting convened at Pittsburgh soon after, it was resolved to petition for a repeal of the law, but no resolution was passed which could be considered reprehensible, yet that meeting was particularly charged with having occasioned all the excesses which followed. Mr. Gallatin was not present, being at that time in Philadelphia.

A second meeting was held in Pittsburgh eleven months after the first, and may be noted as the last of these meetings which preceded the riots, which took place two years after, on the occasion of the service of process on delinquent distillers, compelling them to appear in Philadelphia. The meeting of 1792 was composed of delegates from Washington, Fayette and Allegheny counties, but was very far from being a full and complete representation; they prepared and published a petition for the repeal of the excise laws, and also adopted resolutions similar to those of Washington county the year before. Such language is highly censurable; it is undoubtedly an abuse of the right of remonstrance, even if attended with no practical effect, as was the case on the present occasion, that is, exciting to no act corresponding to the spirit of the resolutions. It could not create public opinion—it was the extravagant

<sup>\*</sup> See note to the resolutions, passed at this meeting; also the exceptionable Washington resolutions.

expression of the excited state of feeling already existing, and cannot be fairly enumerated among the causes of the insurrection arising out of that state of feeling. Col. Neville, the son of the Inspector, when examined as a witness on the trials, being asked whether the enmity to the excise law was increased by those resolutions passed at Pittsburgh, answered: "I do not know that the opposition was more general afterward than before, but immediately after that meeting, revenue officers were treated with disrespect; before that time some had been disrespectfully and injuriously treated; my father before was always treated with respect." Perhaps the word "disrespect" would have required explanation. It is more rational so refer any diminution of respect for the Inspector, among the people, to his loss of popularity consequent on his acceptance of the office.

The reader will probably conclude with the writer, that the meetings on the subject of the excise laws, and the resolutions passed in them, were not among the primary causes which led to the insurrection, as set forth by Secretary Hamilton, but the effect of the unpopular excise laws. The resolutions were nothing more than the strong expression of the popular sentiment, instead of the discontent being the work of "demagogues by speeches and public meetings." There is a reluctance in the rulers or public agent to admit that the discontent rises spontaneously among the people, instead of being manufactured for them—because the contrary would naturally raise a presumption against the former.

The formal conclusion of the insurrection occurred on November 17, 1794, on which date General Lee by general order directed the return of all the troops to their respective states except General Morgan's division, which went into winter quarters on the Monongahela River at Bentleys. On November 29, General Lee issued a proclamation of amnesty and pardon to all persons implicated in the insurrection, excepting Benjamin Parkinson, Arthur Gardener, John Holcroft, Daniel Hamilton, Thomas Lapsley, William Miller, Edward Cook, Edward Wright, Richard Holcroft, David Bradford, John Mitchell, Alexander Fulton, Thomas Speirs, William Bradford, George Parker, William Hanna, Ed. Wagner, Thomas Hughes, David Lock, Ebenezer Gallagher, William Hay, William McIlheny, Peter Lysle, John Shields, Thos. Patton Stephenson, Jack Patrick, Jack and Andrew Highland, of Pennsylvania, and William Sutherland, Robert Stephenson, William McKinley, John Moore and John McCormick, of Virginia.

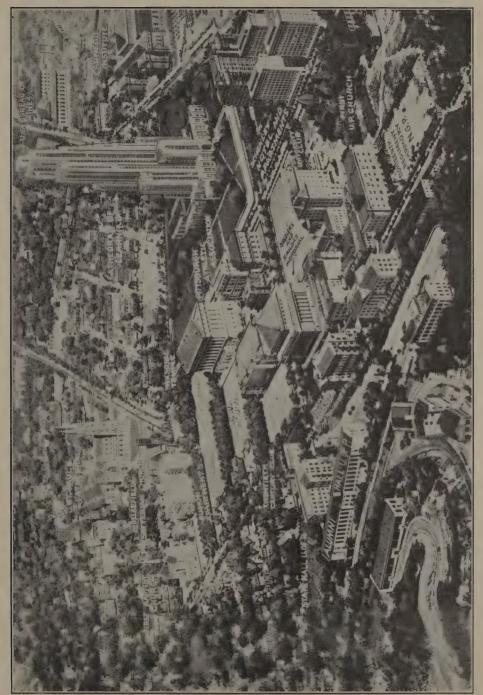
A much discussed journalistic agitator of the insurrection was "Tom the Tinker," whose proclamations denouncing the government and the excise tax were posted on fences or published in the form of advertisements in the newspapers. In these notices thinly veiled threats were made against excise officers

and supporters of the government. Anonymous as they were, Tom the Tinker's pronounciamentos were seriously regarded. Judge Lobinger, a widely known jurist of that period, is quoted as saying, "Tom the Tinker was a new god added to mythology at this time, and was supposed to preside over whisky stills and still houses. Whoever hurrahed loudly for Tom the Tinker was unquestionably loyal to the whisky boys, while those who would not were branded as traitors to the new deity and the country."

One of the most acrimonious controversies growing out of the insurrection concerned General John Neville on the one hand, and Judge Brackenridge on the other. General Neville assumed an exceedingly prominent relation to the whole historic episode when he was induced to accept the office of collector of the odious excise tax.\* General Neville, who resided just outside of Pittsburgh, was a man of exceptional wealth and also exceptional popularity. During the Revolutionary War he had raised and equipped at his own expense a company of soldiers, led by his son Colonel Pressley Neville, and put them into service under General Washington. General Morgan was his brother-in-law, and Majors Craig and Kirkpatrick were his sons-in-law. Both by virtue of his personal high standing, his large means and his family connections, he was a power through the whole western country. It was believed by Hamilton and the other members of Washington's Cabinet that if General Neville could not persuade the people of Western Pennsylvania to pay the tax nobody could. That the economic forces working for resistance were too strong to be overcome even by the personal prestige and popularity of Washington himself, let alone General Neville, was discovered soon after the latter's appointment.

One hundred and forty years after the insurrection there is little or no honest doubt that General Neville accepted the post of tax collector with purely patriotic motives. This was not universally conceded at the time, and among those who imputed to him motives of a baser sort, such as political ambition, was Judge Brackenridge. Sixty years or more after the insurrection a descendant of Judge Brackenridge, Henry Marie Brackenridge, in a biography of his father thought it expedient to couple a defense of his father's participation in the insurrection with an attack on the conduct of General Neville as an agent of the government. Neville Craig, who was a grandson of General Neville and whose history of Pittsburgh is one of our most valuable historical records, replied not only vigorously but savagely to Brackenridge's attack. Both General Neville and Justice H. H. Brackenridge appear in historical perspective to be better championed by their own deeds than by the valiant essays of their apologists. Both were of high

<sup>\*</sup>The amount of the tax laid by the law of March 3, 1791, was four pence or eight cents per gallon.



SCHENLEY FARMS DISTRICT, PITTSBURGH, AN INSTITUTIONAL CENTER INITIATED BY F. F. NICOLA

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character, widely esteemed, and while Justice Brackenridge was one of the most active spirits in the insurrection he proved in its culminating stages, as did also Gallatin, that he had no thought of armed resistance to the Government, but hoped like Gallatin to win a bloodless victory through agitation and secure the overthrow of the whisky tax by constitutional means.

Senator Ross and other loyal supporters of the law seem to have been aware of this from the first, and nobody was more pleased than Ross when Brackenridge, against whom the anti-whisky faction showed no little bitterness, was finally given an honorable release by the Federal authorities.

Among the prominent men who, in addition to those already mentioned, were more or less conspicuous in opposition to the tax were General John Gibson, the Revolutionary soldier known as "Horse Head Gibson"; Matthew Ernest, George Wallace, John Irwin, John Wilkins, George Robinson, George McMasters, George Watson, David Evans, William Earl, Josiah Tannehill, William Gormley, and Nathaniel Irish. Among the most aggressive supporters of the government were Major Isaac Craig, Judge Alexander Addison, Major Kirkpatrick, General John Neville, Colonel William Butler, James O'Hara, Ebenezer Denny, and John Ormsby.



# CHAPTER VI

THE FRONTIER BECOMES A TOWN



## CHAPTER VI

#### THE FRONTIER BECOMES A TOWN

Land the Lure of the Early Settlements—Tomahawk Rights—Dr. Joseph Doddridge's Scrupulous Ethics in a Rough and Unscrupulous Country—"Hating the Offender Out" as a Social Discipline—"Lawrence" as a Term of Opprobrium—Habitations, Apparel, Industries and General Living Conditions in the Transition Period—The Renegade Simon Girty and the Fiendish Burning of Colonel William Crawford—Impressions of Pittsburgh Recorded by Visitors—Dancing Masters, Gay Public Houses and Theatrical Performances Feature Life in the Little Town of Pittsburgh in 1800—The Descriptive Letters of Tarleton Bates—Early Social Leaders—Homes of General Neville, General O'Hara, Dr. Bedford, John Ormsby, Felix Brunot, Half-Brother of Lafayette, and Others.

Why any settlers should have crossed the Alleghany Mountains to establish themselves in a wilderness so hostile and so dangerous is answered from their own standpoint simply enough.

In their own phrase here was land to be had for "the taking up." If a settler built a cabin and raised even a little crop of corn it entitled him to 400 acres of land and a preëmption right to 1,000 acres more adjoining, if there happened to adjoin so much vacant land. The Virginian commissioners issued the certificate rights and surveyors' plan, after they had lain in the land office of the state for six months, if no caveat was forthcoming.

There was another kind of right in the early period of the settlements known as the tomahawk right. When a settler took out a tomahawk right he killed a few trees by the head of a spring and marked in the bark his name and initials. Legal or not, these tomahawk rights were often bought and sold. Some settlers bought them rather than have the bother of quarrels about them. Others, if they were strong enough, used the simpler expedient of beating the tomahawk settlers off.

The first general movement of settlers toward Western Pennsylvania was around the year 1772. These pioneers built their cabins along the Monongahela River and between it and Laurel Ridge. Later they reached the Ohio. Most of them came from the upper parts of the Colonies of Maryland and Virginia by way of Braddock's trail, or the military road which, we remember,

Forbes had insisted on making, from Bedford and Fort Ligonier to Pittsburgh.

There is recorded for us one famous pioneer's boyhood memory of the making of one of these settlements:

Some of the early settlers took the precaution to come over the mountains in the spring, leaving their families behind to raise a crop of corn, and then return and bring them out in the fall. This I should think was the better way. Others, especially those whose families were small, brought them with them in the spring. My father took the latter course. His family was but small and he brought them all with him. The Indian meal which he brought over the mountain was expended six weeks too soon, so that for that length of time we had to live without bread. The lean venison and the breast of the wild turkey we were taught to call bread. The flesh of the bear was denominated meat. This artifice did not succeed very well; after living in this way for some time we became sickly, the stomach seemed to be always empty, and tormented with a sense of hunger. I remember how narrowly the children watched the growth of the potato tops, pumpkin and squash vines, hoping from day to day to get something to answer in the place of bread. How delicious was the taste of the young potatoes when we got them! What a jubilee when we were permitted to pull the young corn for roasting ears! Still more so when it had acquired sufficient hardness to be made into johnny cakes by the aid of a tin grater. We then became healthy, vigorous, and contented with our situation, poor as it was.

My father with a small number of his neighbors made their settlements in the spring of 1773. Though they were in a poor and destitute situation, they nevertheless lived in peace; but their tranquillity was not of long continuance. Those most atrocious murders of the peaceable, inoffensive Indians at Captina and Yellow Creek brought on the war of Lord Dunmore in the spring of the year 1774. Our little settlement then broke up. The women and children were removed to Morris' fort in Sandy creek glade, some distance to the east of Uniontown. fort consisted of an assemblage of small hovels, situated on the margin of a large and noxious marsh, the effluvia of which gave the most of the women and children the fever and ague. The men were compelled by necessity to return home, and risk the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indians, in raising corn to keep their families from starvation the succeeding winter. Those sufferings, dangers and losses, were the tribute we had to pay to that thirst for blood which actuated those veteran murderers who brought the war upon us!

Lovers of early local history will have recognized, in the foregoing, Joseph Doddridge's famous "Notes." \* He tells us that many of the early settlers seemed to regard the legal amount of 400 acres of the earth's surface "as the allotment of divine providence for one family, and believed that any attempt to get more would be sinful." His father was one of these, for having secured his 400 acres, he thought the rest of the country belonged to those who chose to settle on it. He was disturbed by his own possession of a piece of vacant land adjoining his tract, to which he had the preëmption right, and which was secured by warrant. But his conscience did not permit him to retain it in his family and he gave it to an apprentice lad whom he had raised in his house. The boy sold it for "a cow, and a calf, and a wool hat."

Fortunately for posterity, the son also was gifted with a conscience, which in his case expressed itself in a sense of obligation to record every possible detail concerning pioneer life as he knew it. The very odor of pine and smoke, the flavor of wild game, sounds of the cabin and the wilderness, are enclosed within the covers of Doddridge's "Notes," ready to escape and transport the reader into another existence connected subtly but certainly with his own life.

"In the section of the country were my father lived," wrote Doddridge, "there was, for many years after the settlement of the country, 'neither law nor gospel.' Our want of legal government was owing to the uncertainty whether we belonged to the state of Virginia or Pennsylvania. The line, which at present divides the two states, was not run until some time after the conclusion of the Revolutionary war. Thus it happened that during a long period of time we knew nothing of courts, lawyers, magistrates, sheriffs, or constables. Every one was therefore at liberty 'to do whatever was right in his own eyes.' . . .

"Such was the situation of our people along the frontiers of our settlements. They had no civil, military, or ecclesiastical laws, at least none that were enforced, and yet 'they were a law unto themselves' as to the leading obligations of our nature in all the relations in which they stood to each other. The turpitude of vice and the majesty of moral virtue were then as apparent as they are now, and they were then regarded with the same sentiments of aversion or respect which they inspire at the present time. Industry in working and hunting, bravery in war, candor, honesty, hospitality, and steadiness of deportment, received their full reward of public confidence among our rude forefathers, as well as among their better instructed and more polished descendants.

<sup>\*</sup>Joseph Doddridge's Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783, inclusive, together with a Review of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country.

The punishments which they inflicted upon offenders, by the imperial court of public opinion, were well adapted for the reformation of the culprit, or his expulsion from the community.

"The punishment for idleness, lying, dishonesty, and ill fame generally, was that of 'hating the offender out,' as they expressed it. This mode of chastisement was like the *atimea* of the Greeks. It was a public expression, in various ways, of a general sentiment of indignation against such as transgressed the moral maxims of the community to which they belonged. This commonly resulted either in the reformation or banishment of the person against whom it was directed.

"At house raisings, log rollings, and harvest parties, every one was expected to do his duty faithfully. A person who did not perform his share of labor on these occasions was designated by the epithet of Lawrence, or some other title still more opprobrious; and when it came to his turn to require the like aid from his neighbors, the idler soon felt his punishment in their refusal to attend to his calls.

"Although there was no legal compulsion to the performance of military duty, yet every man of full age and size was expected to do his full share of public service. If he did not do so he was 'hated out as a coward.'"

Extremes of emotion, extremes of dull physical misery and of robust good cheer, of crass superstition and hard common sense were characteristic of pioneer life. With all its own natural terrors, the wilderness held also a thousand others that superstition gave to it. "The croaking of a raven, the howling of a dog, and the screech of an owl" were prophetic of misfortune to these adventurers. Doddridge tells us that there was a passion of fear excited by danger. The settlers were exiled from society without comforts, without medical care. The continual accidents of the wilderness, the broken arm or leg, the snake bite, the wound, the sicknesses were either fatal or serious and painful. The hardships and exposures brought on rheumatism at an early age, and for this they tried to help themselves with "the oil of rattlesnakes, geese, wolves, bears, raccoons, ground-hogs and pole-cats, applied to swelled joints and bathed in before the fire." They might at any moment have to leave their home to gather at the fort for protection from Indian raids. Yet with every type of fear, they seem to have had every type of courage.

The divisions of land between them were not always, of course, but usually, made in friendly wise. The boundaries were guided mainly by ridges and water courses so that the greater number of farms in the western parts

of Pennsylvania and Virginia bore a certain resemblance to an amphitheater: the buildings set low among surrounding hills, so that they said "everything comes to the house down hill." The early settlers here had a special fondness for this feature.

Every family had its little vegetable garden, and its "truck-patch" which was apparently a distinction with a difference. In the truck-patch were grown corn for roasting ears, pumpkins, squashes, beans and potatoes; and these were often cooked with pork, venison and bear meat. "Hog and hominy," johnny cake and pone, mush and milk, were staples. When milk was scarce, the mush was often eaten with sweetened water, molasses, bear's oil or gravy of fried meat. The standard dish for log rollings, house raisings and harvest days was pot pie.

There were a few pewter dishes, plates and spoons, wooden bowls, trenchers and noggins (noggins were small cups), iron pots, knives and forks, and gourds and hard-shelled squashes.

From such a home, the little boy we have already quoted was taken by his uncle on a trip to Bedford. Years later he recalls poignantly his experience there with his first cup and saucer and spoon and coffee. "At Bedford," he wrote, "everything was changed. The tavern at which my uncle put up was a stone house, and to make the change still more complete it was plastered in the inside, both as to the walls and ceilings. On going into the dining room I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea that there was any house in the world which was not built of logs; but here I looked round the house and could see no logs, and above I could see no joists; whether such a thing had been made by the hands of man, or had grown so of itself. I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to inquire anything about it. When supper came on, 'my confusion was worse confounded.' A little cup stood in a bigger one with some brownish looking stuff in it, which was neither milk, hominy nor broth; what to do with these little cups and the little spoon belonging to them I could not tell; and I was afraid to ask anything concerning the use of them.

"It was in the time of the war, and the company were giving accounts of catching, whipping and hanging the tories. The word jail frequently occurred: this word I had never heard before; but I soon discovered, and was much terrified at its meaning, and supposed that we were in much danger of the fate of the tories; for I thought, as we had come from the back-woods, it was altogether likely that we must be tories too. For fear of being discovered I durst not utter a single word. I therefore watched attentively to see what the big folks would do with their little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond anything I ever had tasted in my life. I continued to drink, as the rest of the company did, with the tears streaming from my eyes, but when it was to end I was at a loss to

know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I durst not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his little cup bottom upwards and put his little spoon across it. I observed that after this his cup was not filled again; I followed his example, and to my great satisfaction the result as to my cup was the same."

Around the walls of the settlers' cabins were hung on pegs the family articles of clothing. The men generally wore hunting-shirts with open fronts and wide enough to lap over 12 inches or more when belted. This formed a wallet to hold a chuck of bread, cake, tow for wiping rifle barrels, or any other necessity. The cap sometimes had a fringe with a raveled piece of cloth of different color from the hunting shirt. To the right of the belt was hung the tomahawk, to the left the scalping knife in leather sheath. Moccasins were of dressed deerskin. In cold weather they were stuffed with deers' hair or dry leaves for warmth. In wet weather they said that wearing them was "a decent way of going bare footed." Naturally, with such foot covering they were afraid of their familiar enemy, rheumatism, and they learned to sleep with their feet toward the fire. During the Indian wars the younger men took to Indian dress.

The women wore linsey clothing, with sunbonnet of "six or seven hundred linen" of their own weaving. In summer they usually went barefooted, and in winter they had moccasins or coarse shoes or what they called shoepacks. Some few of them had a ring or some jewel or trinket that had been handed down to them from a former generation; but sometimes they lived without ever knowing there were such beautiful or pretty things made for women to wear. Some of them were grown up without ever having seen a store. Some indeed never saw such a thing. . . . Skillfully they handled the sickle and the hoe, the distaff and the shuttle, these pioneer women of the wilderness of Western Pennsylvania. Yet, somehow, some of them managed to get their children to places where they could get an education.

At first, of course, there were no stores—nor salt nor iron nor money, except as one got these things by trading. So the settlers' families collected what peltries and furs they could, before they had time to raise cattle and horses, to send over the mountains for barter. In the fall of the year after seeding time a little caravan would start out, made up of a group of neighbors. There would be a master driver with several assistants. The horses were fitted out with pack-saddles and the bags which were to hold the salt on the return journey started off with feed for the horses which was left at various stages along the route to provide for the way home. The travelers carried large wallets of bread, jerk, boiled ham and cheese. At night the horses were put in pasture or woods and hobbled and the bells opened on their collars.

"The barter for salt and iron was made first at Baltimore; Frederick, Hagerstown, Oldtown and Fort Cumberland, in succession, became the place of exchange. Each horse carried two bushels of alum salt weighing 84 pounds to the bushel. This, to be sure, was not a heavy load for the horses but it was enough, considering the scanty subsistence allowed them on the journey.

"The common price of a bushel of alum salt, at an early period, was a good cow and calf; and until weights were introduced, the salt was measured into the half bushel, by hand, as lightly as possible. No one was permitted to walk heavily over the floor while the operation of measuring was going on." \*

When Indian warfare was on the settlers moved to their forts, which were not defenses alone, but residences for a group of families. Such a fort might consist of cabins, blockhouses and stockades. Blockhouses or sometimes bastions, were built at the angles of the fort. There was a large folding gate nearest the spring. The outside walls were bullet proof. Sometimes the whole was made without a single nail or spike of iron for the reason that they could not be had. The families belonging to the fort cared far too much for their own homes to go to the forts except under necessity—as when a murder was the announcement that Indians were in the settlement.

"I well remember," wrote Doddridge, "that, when a little boy, the family were sometimes waked up in the dead of night by an express with the report that the Indians were at hand. The express came softly to the door, or back window, and by a gentle tapping waked the family. This was easily done, as an habitual fear made us ever watchful and sensible to the slightest alarm. The whole family were instantly in motion. My father seized his gun and other implements of war. My stepmother waked up and dressed the children as well as she could, and being myself the oldest of the children I had to take my share of the burdens to be carried to the fort. There was no possibility of getting a horse in the night to aid us in removing to the fort. Besides the little children, we caught up what articles of clothing and provision we could get hold of in the dark, for we durst not light a candle or even stir the fire. All this was done with the utmost dispatch and the silence of death. The greatest care was taken not to awaken the youngest child. the rest it was enough to say Indian and not a whimper was heard afterwards. Thus it often happened that the whole number of families belonging to a fort who were in the evening at their homes were all in their little fortress before the dawn of the next morning. In the course of the succeeding day their household furniture was brought in by parties of the men under arms.

"Some families belonging to each fort were much less under the influence

<sup>\*</sup> Doddridge's Notes.

of fear than others, and who, after an alarm had subsided, in spite of every remonstrance, would remove home, while their more prudent neighbors remained in the fort. Such families were denominated fool hardy and gave no small amount of trouble by creating such frequent necessities of sending runners to warn them of their danger, and sometimes parties of our men to protect them during their removal."

Even though hunters were often surprised and killed in their temporary hunting camps, there was apparently a certain rapture to them in setting out in the fall with dogs and rifles, blankets and Indian meal. With logs or poles and skins and blankets they made themselves what they called "half-faced cabins." The slope of the roof was from front to back and the front was left open. A fire was built before this opening. Cracks between logs were filled with moss, and dry leaves served as a bed. Shrewd woodsmen as they were, they selected their sites so as to be sheltered by hills from north and west winds.

The hunter without compass knew his cardinal points by the trees; the bark and moss of an aged tree being much thicker and stronger on the north than on the south side. To ascertain the course of the wind, and so to get the leeward of his game, the hunter put his finger in his mouth until it became warm, then held it above his head, and the side which first became cold showed which way the wind blew. If the hunter killed a deer—it must be kept out of reach of the wolves. The cunning of the hunter, and the cunning of the wild things of the wilderness, were matched.

A wedding was the one occasion and gathering which was social celebration for its own sake, not as other gatherings incidental to the labor of reaping or house raising or log rolling. In his wonderful book of memories Doddridge makes his description of the weddings with their merry-making and their jests, their rough, gay, tumultuous processions of guests through the woods, the dinner and the jigs and the fiddling and the games—to warm the hearts of his readers in glad remembrance that amid so much of stern endurance there was still the leaven of human love and happiness.

But tragic chapters follow, descriptive of those times when white men themselves turned savage as the outraged Indians. As decade follows decade, those true, stark personal histories of pioneer times in Western Pennsylvania instead of fading become more vivid and arresting. A recent book which has achieved popularity is Simon Girty, the White Savage, by Thomas Boyd. Also recently published and widely read is The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania by C. Hale Sipe with its account, beside many other pioneer records, of the Girty family. It is a name which will not down—Simon Girty's; and for his biography, which is one of the strangest and most lurid of

American history, the reader is recommended to these recent volumes as well as to the older ones, including that most often quoted, Consul Willshire Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*.

According to Sipe's account, around 1755, the Girty family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. John Turner, their infant son John Turner, Jr., and the four sons of Simon Girty, Sr., by Mrs. Turner's first marriage—Simon, James, George and Thomas, were captured by Indians. Later, John Turner was tortured to death at Kittanning, in the presence of his wife and son and four stepsons. Thomas Girty was the only member of the family liberated when Colonel John Armstrong's forces destroyed Kittanning. Mrs. Turner and her baby son, not yet three years old, were taken to Fort Duquesne and the child was baptized there by the chaplain. During the War of the Revolution, this John Turner fought on the American side and his half brothers, Simon, George and James on the British. The other, Thomas, served his country loyally.

Meanwhile Simon, the most notorious of the brothers, had been adopted by his Seneca captors and had become a thorough Indian in most ways. He lived with them until Colonel Henry Bouquet led his army to the Muskingum in the autumn of 1764 and liberated over 200 white captives. Simon Girty was among them. Brought back to the settlement at Fort Pitt, he built his cabin on a little run flowing into the Allegheny, still known as Girty's Run, a few miles from Fort Pitt.

He was a famous scout in Lord Dunmore's War; and was commissioned an officer of militia at Fort Pitt at the outbreak of the Revolution, but on March 28th, 1778, deserted to the British. The atrocities he afterward committed made his name one of terror in every cabin the length of the Pennsylvania western border. He was definitely allied with the Indians against the whites in the Indian raids from 1778 to 1783.

Girty's name is seldom mentioned in history without reference to what is usually called his laughter at the slow torture followed by death by burning of his former friend Colonel William Crawford. Perhaps it is well to be reminded as we are in Thomas Boyd's Simon Girty, the White Savage, in its account of this scene, that "there are many kinds of laughter and not all of them are delighted, humorous or gay."

"There is no doubt, however," writes Sipe, "that Simon Girty was blamed for many atrocities of which he was innocent, especially atrocities committed by his brothers George and James. At times too, when sober, he was moved by considerations of humanity, as when he saved his friend, Simon Kenton, from death at the hands of the Indians, and when he caused Mrs. Thomas Cunningham, of West Virginia, to be returned to her husband, after her son had been tomahawked and scalped and her little daughter's brains dashed out against a tree, in her presence. Such occasional gleamings of his better

nature stand out in strong relief against a career of outrage, blood and death. . . .

"Simon, George and James Girty were underlings of Henry Hamilton, the British 'Hair Buyer General,' who was in command at Detroit during a large part of the Revolutionary War, and had charge of operations against the western frontier. Hamilton was so named by the Americans on account of his giving his Indian allies rewards for American scalps, even the scalps of women and children."

A story connected with all this, going back to the time when the young George Washington was surveying Lord Fairfax's "back lands," is the tragic one of Colonel William Crawford. In those early days when George Washington was little more than 17 years of age, he had lodged sometimes with Crawford's mother, and had taught young William something of surveying. They remained friends throughout their lives. Crawford, for whom Crawford County is named, had done military duty as a scout along the frontiers, had marched with the Virginians under Washington in 1758 when General Forbes occupied Fort Duquesne, and had served in Pontiac's War. Though a Virginian he greatly admired and loved the country of Western Pennsylvania and came over the mountains in 1766 and built his cabin at "Stewart's Crossings," the present Connellsville, Pennsylvania. He was with Washington, acting as his land agent, when Washington came through this country in 1770 to look after land interests on the Kanawha River. Crawford served through the Revolution, and had charge of the building of Fort McIntosh (at Beaver). Many of his military errands had begun or ended at Fort Pitt.

In May, 1782, he was sent by Brigadier-General William Irvine on a campaign against the Wyandot Indians living upon the Sandusky River in the northwestern part of what is now Ohio. It was during this campaign that he was captured by the Delawares. His capture followed a massacre of Moravian Indians by whites. The enraged Indians visited their vengeance upon Crawford, whom for some hours they tortured with diabolical cruelty before burning at the stake. The details are given over and over in the early histories, and as has been said, in these descriptions Simon Girty has played a fiendish rôle.

Dr. Knight, a surgeon and fellow prisoner, escaped and after twenty days reached Fort McIntosh and the following day, Fort Pitt. Crawford's son John succeeded in making his way home and John Slover, one of the guides, escaped. It is believed that all the other prisoners were tortured and put to death. Butterworth's Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky Under Colonel William Crawford in 1782 is a detailed history of the campaign.

The capture by Indians of Massa Harbison, and her rescue after the tomahawking of her child, is one of the most famous of local frontier his-

tories. Her rescue occurred just above Sharpsburg and opposite Highland Park in Pittsburgh.

From the time the conquered Indian tribes signed the treaty at Greenville, Ohio, in 1795, they moved westward farther and farther, pushed on by the white settlers. One of the signers of that treaty was the Shawnee chief, Red Pole, or Mio-qua-coo-na-caw, who died in Pittsburgh, January 28th, 1797. His grave may be seen in Trinity Churchyard.

"The whole period," writes Erasmus Wilson,\* "till the year 1783 was one continued series of horrors and bloodshed, and it forms the darkest page in our early history, worse in Pennsylvania than during the French occupation.
... During all these troubled times Fort Pitt was the center of supplies and operations, maintaining more than ever its claim to be regarded as the key of the west."

It is interesting to compare a few of the descriptions that have been left to us of the settlement at Pittsburgh during this period. About the middle of October, 1770, George Washington again stopped at Pittsburgh on his way to look after land interests on the Kanawha River. He wrote:

October 17.—Doctor Craik and myself, with Captain Crawford and others, arrived at the fort. . . . We lodged at what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Sample's, who keeps a good house of public entertainment. The houses, which are built of logs, are ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and, I suppose, may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders.

In 1772 the Rev. David McClure, a Presbyterian minister who preached to the settlers, came to Pittsburgh to make his headquarters. He thus describes his arrival in the town:

Arrived at this place about sunset. The first object of our attention was a number of poor drunken Indians, staggering and yelling through the village. It is the headquarters of Indian traders, and the resort of Indians of different and distant tribes, who come to exchange their peltry and furs for rum, blankets and ammunition, etc. . . . The fort is a handsome and strong fortification. In it are barracks, and comfortable houses, one large brick house is called the Governor's house. It stands at the point of land formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, on an extensive plain. Adjoining are good orchards and gardens. The village is about one-fourth of a mile from the fort and consists of about forty dwelling houses built of hewed logs and stands on the bank of the Monongahela.

<sup>\*</sup> Erasmus Wilson's Standard History of Pittsburgh.

In Charles W. Dahlinger's history, Fort Pitt, from which the above paragraph is quoted, we are told that Mr. McClure spent his first Sunday morning in Pittsburgh preaching to the garrison at the fort at the request of Major Hamilton. The greater part of the soldiers, who had lately arrived from Fort Chartres, had not heard a sermon for four years. During the religious service the men were paraded under arms.

In 1788 Colonel John May of Boston wrote:

Pittsburgh is in plain sight at half a mile distance. It is an irregular, poorly built place. The number of houses, mostly built of logs, about one hundred and fifty. The inhabitants (perhaps because they lead too easy a life) incline to be extravagant and lazy. They are subject, however, to frequent alarms from the savages of the wilderness. The situation is agreeable and the soil good.

In 1790, John Pope in a journey from Richmond to Kentucky, after he had crossed the Alleghany Mountains, wrote:

I passed through the shadow of Death—saw George Washington's intrenchments at the Meadows, and undismayed rode over Braddock's grave.

But which shall we trust of the two following descriptions? The first written by Arthur Lee after a visit in 1784:

Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even in Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on, the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt. from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel; so that they are likely to be damned without the benefit of clergy. The rivers encroach fast on the town, and to such a degree, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had in thirty years of his memory carried away one hundred yards. The place I believe, will never be very considerable.

The second description, which is rather amazing, was written by the Honorable Hugh Henry Brackenridge, in a paper on Pittsburgh prepared for the first number of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, that appeared on July 29, 1786. The writer says among other things:



HENRY W. OLIVER BUILDING



It was in the spring of 1781 that, leaving the city of Philadelphia, I crossed the Alleghany Mountains, and took up my residence in the town of Pittsburgh:

"If town it could be called, that town was none, Distinguishable by house or street . . ."

But in fact a few buildings under the walls of a garrison, which stood at the junction of the two rivers. Nevertheless it appeared to me as what would one day be a town of note, and in the meantime might be pushed forward by the usual means that raise such places. . . . But to return and take a view of the Monongahela, on the south side of the town. The bank is closely set with buildings for the distance of near half a mile, and behind this range the town chiefly lies, falling back on the plains between the two rivers. To the eastward is Grant's Hill, a beautiful rising ground, discovering marks of ancient cultivation, the forests having long ago withdrawn and shown the head and brow beset with green flowers. From this hill two crystal fountains issue, which, in the heat of summer, continue with a limpid current to refresh the taste. It is pleasant to celebrate a festival on the summit of this ground. In the year 1781, a bower had been erected, covered with green shrubs. The sons and daughters of the day, assembling, joined in the festivity, viewing the rivers at a distance and listening to the music of the military on the plain beneath them. When the moonlight, rising from the east, had softened into gray the prospect, a lofty pile of wood inflamed with pyramidal rising, illuminated both rivers and the town, which far around reflected brightness. Approaching in the appearance of a god, a swain begirt with weeds natural to those streams, and crowned with leaves of the sugar tree, hailed us and gave prophetic hints of the grandeur of our future empire. His words I remember not, but it seemed to me, for a moment, that the mystic agencies of deities well known in Greece and Rome were not a fable; but that powers unseen haunt the woods and rivers, who take part in the affairs of mortals, and are pleased with the celebration of events that spring from great achievements and from virtue. . . . On the top of the hill is a mound of earth, supposed to be a catacomb or ancient burial place of the savages . . . Nature . . . or the river, seems to have formed the bed of this town as a garden, with level walks and falling of the ground. The town consists at present of about an hundred dwelling houses, with buildings appurtenant. are daily added, and for sometime past it has improved with an equal but continual pace. . . . In the fall of the year and during the winter season there is usually a great concourse of strangers at this place, from the different States, about to descend to the westward, or to excursions into the uninhabited and adjoining country. These, with the inhabitants of the town, spend the evenings in parties at the different houses, or at public balls, where they are surprised to find an elegant assembly of ladies, not to be surpassed in beauty or accomplishments perhaps by any on the continent. It must appear like enchantment to a stranger, after traveling an hundred miles from the settlements, across a dreary mountain, and through the adjacent country, where in many places the spurs of the mountains still continue, and cultivation does not always show itself, to see, all at once, and almost on the verge of the inhabited globe, a town with smoking chimneys, halls lighted up with splendor, ladies and gentlemen assembled, various music and the mazes of the dance.

In the year in which the article by Judge Brackenridge was published, 1786, "Niles' Register" stated that Pittsburgh contained then thirty-six log houses, one stone and one frame house, and five small stores. And two years later Dr. Hildredth, of Marietta, Ohio, wrote:

Pittsburgh then contained four or five hundred inhabitants, several retail stores; and a small garrison of troops was kept at old Fort Pitt. To our travelers, who had lately seen nothing but trees and rocks, with here and there a solitary hut, it seemed to be quite a large town. The houses were chiefly built of logs, but now and then one had assumed the appearance of neatness and comfort.

Four years later the American Museum attributed to Pittsburgh:

One clock and watch-maker, 2 coopers, I skin dresser and breeches-maker, 2 tanners and curriers, 4 cabinetmakers, 2 hatters, 2 weavers, 5 blacksmiths, 5 shoemakers, 3 saddlers, I malster and brewer, 2 tinners, 3 wheelwrights, I stocking weaver, I ropemaker, 2 whitesmiths; total, 36 mechanics. The number of families was said to be 130.

The 1700's were almost over. Soon there was to be a sharp dividing line of time. In the last month of the last year of the century George Washington died and was buried at his home at Mount Vernon in Virginia.

There is a new century—1800.

Now, in its first decade, the inhabitants of Pittsburgh may walk right into a store and buy tea and coffee and chocolate and olives and almonds and spices in the most casual way. At the west of the town Fort Pitt lies a ruin, its moat a ditch, its rampart a crumbling wall; at the east end of the town Fort Fayette is used as a military storehouse only. The Block House, "the Old Redoubt," is a family dwelling.

Now, dancing masters have come to Pittsburgh and ladies and gentlemen in beautiful clothes are dancing minuets and cotillions. Their "practicing balls" are great fun, beginning at seven o'clock with a cotillion and ending with a country dance at about midnight. (It was in 1831 that Pittsburgh had its first military ball, given by the dashing Duquesne Grays when Major Rufus L. Baker, U. S. A., was commandant of the stately Allegheny Arsenal.)

Already in the first 10 years of the century there were occasional theatrical performances by professional actors. There were two newspapers, The Pittsburgh Gazette (of Federal politics) and The Tree of Life (Republican). Wine shops had an amazing list of foreign wines. Zadok Cramer, the publisher, had a circulating library from which one could get the latest novels. Under the auspices of the Jockey Club there were three days of horse racing every fall, with "Young Messenger" the sensation of the stables. There were ever so many taverns with their painted swinging or posted signs. Among them were: The Sign of General Washington at Wood Street and Diamond Alley; The Sign of the Green Tree, which had formerly been The Whale and the Monkey; The Sign of the Waggon; The Sign of the Cross Keys; The Sign of the Indian Queen; and John Ormsby's establishment on Water Street at his ferry landing, which had been Semple's Tavern when Washington had stopped there in 1770. Another was Marie's Tavern which adjoined the parade ground of the Militia on the level part of Grant's Hill.

In the most authoritative book we have on Pittsburgh's social life of this period,\* the author tells us:

The extent of the comforts and luxuries enjoyed in Pittsburgh was surprising. The houses, whether built of logs, or frame, or brick, were comfortable, even in winter. In the kitchens were large open fire-places, where wood was burned. The best coal fuel was plentiful. Although stoves were invented barely half a century earlier, and were in general use in the larger cities, the houses in Pittsburgh could already boast of many. There were cannon stoves, so called because of their upright cylindrical, cannon-like shape, and Franklin or open stoves, invented by Benjamin Franklin; the latter graced the parlor. Grates were giving out their cheerful blaze. They were also in use in some of the rooms of the new court house, and in the new jail.

The advertisements of the merchants told the story of what the people ate and drank, and of the materials of which their clothing was made. . . . Materials for men's and women's clothing were endless in variety and design. . . .

One of the consequences in the United States of the French Revolu-

\* Pittsburgh: A Sketch of Its Early Social Life, by Charles W. Dahlinger.

tion was to cause the effeminate and luxurious dress in general use to give way to simpler and less extravagant attire. . . . Knee breeches were succeeded by tight-fitting trousers reaching to the ankles; low-buckled shoes, by high-laced leather shoes, or boots. Men discontinued wearing cues, and their hair was cut short, and evenly around the head. There were of course exceptions. Many men of conservative temperament still clung to the old fashions. A notable example in Pittsburgh was the Rev. Robert Steele, who always appeared in black satin knee-breeches, knee-buckles, silk stockings and pumps.

It is interesting to remember that in 1803 the area of this country was more than doubled by the acquisition of the great Louisiana territory, ceded to the United States by Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, for 60,000,000 francs. There was now brisk commerce between Pittsburgh and Louisiana.

In that same year the stagecoach line from Chambersburg to Baltimore and Philadelphia was put in operation, and the next year extended from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. In 1804 the Bank of Philadelphia opened a branch in Pittsburgh, and in 1805 the Episcopalians began the erection of the famous old brick octagonal building which was the first Trinity Church in Pittsburgh. Before that time religious services in Pittsburgh were either in the German or the Presbyterian Church. In 1808 St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church was built and the Methodists erected their first building in Pittsburgh in 1810.

It was already characteristic of the town that it should be made up of many nationalities. The English-speaking predominated and of these the majority were of Scotch or Irish birth or immediate extraction. There were also French, German, Swiss, Welsh, and later Italians. "The place contained," writes Charles W. Dahlinger in the book above quoted, "a number of negroes, nearly all of whom were slaves, there being in 1800 sixty four negro slaves in Allegheny County, most of whom were in Pittsburgh and the immediate vicinity. A majority of the negroes had been brought into the village in the early days by emigrants from Virginia and Maryland. Their number was gradually decreasing. By act of the General Assembly of March I, 1780, all negroes and mulattoes born after that date, of slave mothers, became free upon arriving at the age of twenty-eight years. Then on March 29, 1788, it was enacted that any slaves brought into the State by persons resident thereof, or intending to become such, should immediately be free. Also public sentiment was growing hostile to the institution of negro slavery."

In 1800 the population of Pittsburgh was 1,565 and in 1810 it was 4,768. Probably in no way can one get more of the "feel" of social life in the

Pittsburgh of the time than through the letters of a young man of great popularity and prominence, Tarleton Bates. He was born in Virginia in 1775 and came to Pittsburgh when he was eighteen years of age. During his first years in Pittsburgh he served in the Quartermaster's department of the Government under Major Isaac Craig, who was department Quartermaster and Military Storekeeper at Pittsburgh. Bates was always deeply immersed in politics, and was much devoted to a younger brother Frederick who became later the second governor of Missouri. Two other brothers had fine achievement, one of them becoming Attorney-General in Lincoln's Cabinet.

The first of these letters is dated Pittsburgh, July 8, 1795.\*

## DEAR BROTHER-

I board at a very genteel house at half a guinea a week and 70c a dozen for washing. My wages are (including two rations) Thirty-five dols. per month. What I shall be able to put by of this I can only say will not equal my first expectations. I have thought of making the Western country my home, though it will be long, very long, before I can prevail upon myself to disavow that dear and much revered appellation of A CITIZEN OF VIRGINIA. That I was born amongst freemen I thank my God—and an American I am particularly grateful, but that I first breathed in Virginia is my chiefest glory . . . desire to hear from my friends, relatives and fellow-citizens for I have not yet expatriated myself.

I spent the Fourth very agreeably with about 45 persons at the Sign of the Bear—fifteen toasts accompanied by the discharge of cannon were given and the day closed with harmony and a procession through the streets with three huzzas before almost every respectable house in town.

I was some two days ago very agreeably surprised by the appearance of Q.M. Woodson (Quarter-Master Woodson), a perfect Virginian, in this place. He has been in the Quarter-Master General's employ since last fall at 30\$ and two rations, is now on his way to headquarters at Philadelphia where he has been for three or four months.

Being entirely in the dark with regard to your politics, I know nothing more that I can communicate. . . .

(This letter is addressed to Citizen Frederick Bates, Goochland Court House, Virginia Via Philadelphia to Richmond, Virginia.)

Pittsburgh, June 19, 1797.

Three princes of the house of Bourbon, sons to the late, the infamous Egalite, arrived here from the falls of the Ohio yesterday. The only one of them that is tolerably looking is almost a dwarf, the others small,

<sup>\*</sup> These letters are taken from the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society Magazine.

crooked legs and knees, round shoulders, hard features. In short, I am not altogether certain that the man who was to say they are deformed would deserve to forfeit his veracity. If their minds are crooked as their bodies, it is lucky for France that they are no longer to fix manners of a nation. But as I have but just seen them on the street, I may have judged amiss. Some have supposed it possible that they are not really the sons of Orleans but I do not think it possible that any persons of their appearance would have dared to have (assumed?) the honor of being princes.

They travel without state, are illy dressed, and I believe have but one valet between them. Yet though they have lost their paternal estate, their maternal is immense.

Pittsburgh, Aug. 18, 1797.

Subjoined, my dear Frederick, is the copy of a letter from the Deputy Q.M.G. at Detroit. As often as I have urged the subject of its contents, I must be excused in adding, I think this is an offer that demands immediate attention. Some of the advantages are mentioned in the annexed; but there are others, one of which is most weighty and would, was my inclination alone consulted, induce me to prefer that situation to mine here. It is that the Northwestern Territory will very shortly make the 17th link in the Federal chain—of course persons of assiduity or a tolerable portion of abilities may rise with a rising State.

Headquarters, Pittsburgh, 25 December, 1797.

(Addressed to Frederick Bates, Quarter-Master's Office, Detroit.)

Merry Christmas to you, my dear Brother, and many New Years, too, among your Galli-American fair at Detroit. . . .

"The Ladies of Pittsburgh" gave a soiree(?) some days ago at which there were thirty-one ladies and near forty gentlemen. Capt. T. Lewis and J. Pierce's companies are still here destined for the Mississippi—waiting for the will of God to depart. The three ci-devant Princes of Orleans with the Adj. Gen. of Dumouriez at the famous battle of Genappee (Jemapees) are here. They are bound to New Orleans.

9 o'clock, January 12, 1798.

. . . I have sold your mare for nine months for 80\$.

You seem inclined to court the law. In this quarter her slaves (in

their bills) have no regard for fee-bill, justice or moderation, these words being struck out of their vocabulary, and the words injustice and extortion inserted in their room. A young gentleman by the name of A—talks of visiting your town as an attorney. He expected last fall a license to practice by a most preposterous law,—an excrescence of British monopolizing spirit—which requires a certain number of years' study. He is quite an ordinary genius, who in his pupilage (?) has caught the little manners of Brackenridge without acquiring a spark of his acuteness. . . .

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Pittsburgh, May 25, 1798.

. . . happy that shirts arrived opportunely—Swift's treatise not vet procured. . . . Although I had heard of ruffles without a shirt, I had in fact no idea that there was any such thing, till the receipt of your (letter). . . Assiduity and attention to business promises wealth in due time, although you may perhaps be obliged to confine yourself to your rations and "live like Frenchmen," and even wear ruffles without a shirt! You have caught, I see, the British phrase, the States. It is the opinion of many, the fear of most people, and the wish of some that the Dogs of War should be loosed and that WE should take exemplary vengeance on the infidel French, and the darling measure of these last would be an alliance. Offensive and Defensive with Mother Britain, bowed down with a weight of 450 millions and tottering to her grave. My Creed is, make no more Treaties, that unnecessary causes of war and foreign influence (whether British or French is equally obnoxious) may be avoided. In case of war it is probable the Mississippi would be the scene of action; but it surely would be the extremest impolicy to leave the posts bordering on the Territory of our Amicable, Commercial and Navigating allies, the British, garrisoned only with subaltern's commands.

On Saturday the nineteenth, precisely at 2 P.M., the first galley was launched at this place. It was said to be a very beautiful launch, she slid a most unusual distance, I believe 126 feet. When she descends the river is not known, as it depends more on the destinies than on man, for although she is not in a sailing state, neither is the water high enough to admit it. The General talks of leaving here for the Mississippi next week. It is probable Mrs. Wilkinson moves with him, and I had supposed the Q.M.Gen. also.

Pittsburgh, September 21, 1800.

... We are likely to carry all our candidates in this district,—Washington, Greene, Allegheny and the new counties, Crawford, &c—for

Gallatin, State Senator, J. Hamilton; Representatives in Assembly, I. Morton and Sam Ewalt; commissioner Nat Irish; coroner John Johnston; all good men and true. Gallatin says Pennsylvania will have a vote for President, and President Adams says he would rather Jefferson would be elected than C. C. Pinckney,—that there is a formidable British party in America, which he, Adams, has for years been combatting, and that he knows Jefferson would never be the dupe of that party. Adams also says the Feds—meaning the Hamiltonians—are now the greatest disorganizers,—that had Hamilton been two years at the head of the 12 Regiments, the Union must have raised another army to disband those regiments—and that we shall never be quiet till we have a monarchy. . . . There is little change in North Carolina (predicts Democratic victory). . . . But I pray you have compassion on Mr. Brush, do not tell him this. Who? Where is your amiable accomplished Ogilvy? I long to see him.

If you have any views I probably can render you some service with Governor St. Clair if you make them known shortly as it is said that he is to be superseded by the Great Man whom you expected at Detroit in the Adams.

Pittsburgh, January 28, 1804.

I have given 1050\$ cash for twenty acres of land in Grant's hill in sight of the borough. I have bought a donation tract of 200 acres for as many dollars with a little expense of brokerage and am to give 100\$ for 7 acres of hill and 1 ½ acres of bottom land below Robinson's on the Allegheny River nearly opposite its confluence with the Ohio. These two last I consider very good bargains, and have bought four tracts for taxes which if valid are very good—800 acres for 200\$. Mr. Harriott reports that you are doing very well—and Mr. Lucas has written to this town that he wishes you may be appointed Secretary. Would think your chance about equal.

We are carrying on here our old game. The federal ladies in meekness and modesty still refuse or decline to visit newcomers however respectable. The bank has gone into operation here. Messrs. Wilson and Smith the cashier and teller, have families who have not been visited even by the ladies of the directors, because "they came here in a strange way." Mr. Wilson, the cashier, is a man about forty, respectable for his talents and his wealth, both are respectable for their high honor and integrity—their ladies are equally meritorious—but, also, they are Democrats. They refused bringing letters of introduction, because they very justly considered that the very committal to their care

of perhaps one-half million of money was of itself proof of their high standing in Philadelphia and with the Bank of Pennsylvania which indeed is an aristocratic institution. But our ladies are of too high origin, they have too pure blood of ancestry flowing in their veins, to mix with any but patricians! I fear that we are fast becoming the reproach, the laughing stock, if not of the Union, at least of Pennsylvania.

Federalists muster at their balls 13 gentlemen, 18 ladies. This year they have had a farce of pretending to permit the demos to participate. Some of them met together and formed an assembly for the season and appointed managers, without desiring our attendance. Afterwards certain persons—not managers—went round with a subscription paper to some of my friends but did not come to me. True a little before the first dance, a gentleman, by what authority I know not, for he was no manager, met me and said he should have the honor to wait on me the next day. On inquiring for what, he said with the subscription paper. I desired he would not. He did not, and they now make a distinction with respect to me, that I was not asked because I would not go. It is true I shouldn't have gone, asked even in a proper way, but without any particular circumstances I should not have gone, asked as I was—that is, asked by a person having no right, if I might be asked. But I tire you with minutiæ.

I was surprised to hear you acquit Mr. Sibley of any duplicity in the affair of the Secretaryship after your information that he was the first to advise you to offer.

Pittsburgh, October 17, 1805.

... We have carried McKean by about 5000, nearly the same as in 1799, though not the same persons. The feds acting nobly. I believe we will have a majority in both houses, certainly the lower. This saves Pennsylvania, saves the Union. We will probably have at Pittsburgh a Supreme Court in Bank next spring which will add something to my profits. Wish you could get subscribers for the *Tree*—it is a great object to make it a leading paper. How is your town, county, &c.? Please write minutely.

Yours, (Signature)

Three months after writing this letter, Tarleton Bates was killed in a duel. It was a political quarrel, and was fought with pistols at 10 paces. Bates fell in the second fire. The place was a ravine in what is now Oakland,

near the bank of the Monongahela River. He was buried in old Trinity Churchyard. When his mother in Virginia, whom he adored and who adored him, received word of his death, the family amid their tears rejoiced that the Virginia traditions of honor had not been violated and that Tarleton Bates had accepted the challenge and "preferred death to a life of infamy and disgrace." \*

Let us look at some of the outstanding homes and families in this peculiarly interesting and destined city, at the dawn of the nineteenth century. The oldest and most famous house was the old Block House, or the Old Redoubt, built by Colonel Bouquet in 1764, which after its military uses had been turned into a dwelling house. Here lived for a time that eminent citizen Isaac Craig, who was concerned in every important movement in the town, and here his distinguished son, Neville Craig, was born.

There were two historic, hospitable, stately country homes. One of them belonged to General John Neville, and was situated on Neville Island. General Neville's town house at Water and Ferry Streets was a large plain wooden house set in a garden. His mansion on Neville Island was built of logs eighteen inches thick, with wide Colonial porch, a great central hall, enormous fireplace and beautifully shaded and sloping lawn. It was a handsome estate with its house, negro quarters, overseer's house, orchard and gardens.

General Neville had been an officer in the War of the Revolution and was respected for his patriotism and loved for his generosity. He was a Virginian of English descent and a youthful friend of George Washington. Mrs. Neville was Winifred Oldham of Virginia, and their children were Pressley Neville and Amelia, who became the wife of Isaac Craig. The island home, which was the scene of brilliant social life for many years, was destroyed by fire in 1891.

The other country mansion was that of Doctor Felix Brunot, who was a foster brother of Lafayette and who came to America with him but remained to practice medicine, which he did with great benevolence. There is a description of his Brunot Island estate written in 1810 by F. Cumming who was a guest at Dr. Brunot's house, invited there "to commemorate the anniversary of a new era in the annals of Victory, the Independence of the United States of America." He writes:

He has judiciously left the timber standing on the end of the island nearest Pittsburgh, through which and a beautiful locust grove of about twelve acres, an avenue from his upper landing is led with

<sup>\*</sup> Charles W. Dahlinger's Pittsburgh: A Sketch of its Early Social Life.

taste and judgment, about half a mile to his house, which is a good two story cottage with large barns and other appropriate offices near it, and an excellent garden and nursery. He has fenced the farm in such a way, as to have a delightful promenade all around it, between the fences and the margin of the river, which he has purposely left fringed with the native wood about sixty yards wide.

Most of the many Frenchmen who came to America in those days were entertained at this home, and a little girl writing of the arrival there of Lafayette, said, "They ran to greet each other, embraced, and wept for joy."

Soon after the visit of Lafayette, Doctor Brunot sold this house and moved with his family to a home in Liberty Avenue where he had his doctor's office. Quoting from the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society Magazine of July, 1926:

This house must have resembled a hospital and an apothecary shop, for healing was a passion with this physician. He collected at home and abroad every plant, leaf and root that contained any balm for pain, and his rooms had "innumerable odours and fragrances." He made his own medicines, and treated his patients under his own roof. He rarely asked for or took a fee and the lame, the halt and the blind believed him to be the healer of all human maladies.

So far as is known, the doctor's only assistant was Mrs. Brunot, and no one who required attention left the Brunot house without treatment, medicines, and Mrs. Brunot's sympathy and gentle care. . . . Mention is made on many an old page of the "fascinating bonnet worn by Mrs. Brunot." She is described as small, French in manner and broken in speech.

There were three sons: Sanson Brunot, who became a clergyman and founded the Episcopal parishes in Blairsville and Greensburg, and Christ Church in Allegheny; Hilary Brunot, a graduate of West Point, who spent four years at the Arsenal in Lawrenceville as Lieutenant Brunot but later resigned his commission, went into a manufacturing business, and chose for the site of his house an open square, where the Pennsylvania Station now stands; and Felix Revielle Brunot, who married Mary Hogg, the daughter of George Hogg of Washington Street, Allegheny. Mr. Hogg's wedding gift to his daughter was a house on Stockton Avenue at the corner of Union Avenue. Robert Dalzell's house adjoined the Brunots'. The old numbers "50" and "52" are now "214" and "216."

In his Pittsburgh: A Sketch of its Early Social Life, Charles W. Dahlinger tells us of another distinguished French resident of the city: ". . . at

the southwest corner of Market and Front Streets, were the cabinet-makers and upholsterers, Dobbins & McElhinney. Directly across Market Street from Dobbins & McElhinney, was the establishment of the Chevalier Dubac. The sign gave no inkling of the noble birth of the proprietor, reading simply, 'Gabriel Dubac.' He had recently removed to this corner from Front Street. He has been described as the most popular citizen of the village. With his wines, dry goods, and groceries, he sold confectionery. His dog 'Sultan,' and his monkey 'Bijou,' were the joy of the children. He was an accomplished scholar, and possessed most polished manners. When he closed his shop and entered society, he was the delight of all with whom he associated. He was in the habit of dining on Sundays at the home of General Neville. When the French princes, the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, King of France, and his two brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and the Count of Beaujolais, visited Pittsburgh in 1797, it was the Chevalier Dubac who assisted in making their stay agreeable."

The surgeon of Fort Pitt, Doctor Bedford, who practiced medicine in early Pittsburgh, had his residence in the square between Tenth Street, Liberty Avenue, Barker Alley and Penn Avenue. He is described in the magazine article earlier quoted as having lived "like an English nobleman with a retinue of servants and a string of horses and hunting dogs." Doctor Bedford's grave may be seen in Old Trinity Churchyard.

General James O'Hara was an outstanding personality of the time as well as an outstanding citizen. He had been educated in France, served in the British Army with the Coldstream Guards, and came to this country in 1772. He served as an officer in the War of the Revolution; and as a citizen of Pittsburgh was interested in every public enterprise and was the largest owner of real estate in the city and county. He and Isaac Craig were partners in a glass-making factory in 1791. Among his papers was found a note which read, "Today we made the first bottle at a cost of \$30,000."

The first home in Pittsburgh of General O'Hara and his bride, Polly Carson, a belle of Philadelphia, was near Fort Pitt in what was then called Officers' Orchard. Later they moved to Water Street, which was then the fashionable residence street, and their home was famous for its warm-hearted hospitality. The great tracts of land General O'Hara had amassed were inherited by his daughters, Mrs. William Croghan and Mrs. Harmar Denny.

Four distinguished homes which were part of this O'Hara estate were "Guyasuta," the Darlington residence near Sharpsburg; "Deer Creek," originally the summer house of the Denny family: "Kilbuck" at 1912 Western Avenue, named for the Indian chief who was believed to have been buried under a stone slab near the lilac walk in the garden; and "Picnic House," the Schenley mansion on what is now the Stanton Heights Golf Course.

The romance of Pittsburgh's present Schenley Park is connected with this family and property.

"The district," wrote Annie Clark Miller in the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society Magazine for July, 1926, "now called the Schenley Farms was part of General O'Hara's holdings. This part of the property was called 'Spring Hill.' The adjoining property now known as Schenley Park was 'Mt. Airy.'

"General O'Hara's daughter Mary married William Croghan. When Mrs. Croghan died leaving an infant daughter, Mary Elizabeth, Mr. Croghan built the big country house 'Picnic' on Stanton Heights. When his daughter was seventeen years old she was sent to the Miss McLeod's School on Staten Island. An officer of the English Army, Captain Edward Wendham Harrington Schenley (a veteran of Waterloo), fifty years old and a widower for the second time, came to America to visit Miss McLeod. He fell in love with the little American girl, Mary Croghan, and, in spite of the difference in ages and the objections of the father, they were married in 1842. Upon the death of the father, Captain and Mrs. Schenley came to Pittsburgh for a short time and then went to England to live.

"To the present generation, the house has been known only as the Schenley Mansion. The family portraits and some furniture remained in the great empty house for many years with only a caretaker in charge. Most of the things have been removed, Mrs. Schenley's portrait to the Carnegie Institute, but the old house still stands on the Stanton Heights golf course, a dignified monument of a very prosperous day.

"In General O'Hara's day there was an avenue of thorn and lilac trees all the way from the gate, with its high brick pillars, on Stanton Avenue, to the doorway.

"Three of General O'Hara's sons died during his lifetime. The fourth, Richard O'Hara, married Mary Fitzsimmons and lived on the estate known as 'Guyasuta,' on the northern bank of the Allegheny River near the present town of Sharpsburg.

"Their daughter, Mary Carson O'Hara, married William McCullough Darlington and inherited this estate. The house was a rambling, gray brick house with comfortable porches set in a garden of riotous bloom.

"Mrs. Darlington spent much of her girlhood with her grandmother, Mrs. O'Hara. She was a pupil at Miss Oliver's Edgeworth Seminary when it was in the Braddock Field house. Later she attended Miss McLeod's boarding school for girls on Staten Island, New York. She was interested in local history, was the author of several pamphlets

and compiled the list of names of officers of the Colonial and Revolutionary armies who died in Pittsburgh and were buried in the historic graveyard of Trinity and First Presbyterian Churches. These names have been engraved on the memorial tablet placed by the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on the church wall in Oliver Avenue.

"Mr. Darlington studied law with Richard Biddle and was a scholar and writer. His library, which contained several thousand volumes, many of them rare books, was bequeathed by the surviving daughter, Miss Mary O'Hara Darlington, to the University of Pittsburgh, to be used in the establishment of the general library building to be erected, and in which will be placed the 'William and Mary Darlington Memorial Library.'

"Mr. Darlington's portrait by Lambdin, and other paintings which hung in the old homestead and a valuable silver service inherited from General O'Hara are now the property of the Carnegie Institute."

An equally picturesque account is given in this same magazine and article of the Ormsby family.

"The first of the Ormsbys to come to America was John Ormsby. He was the youngest son of an Irish gentleman of 'an ancient and honorable family,' was educated at the University of Dublin and came to this country, as he states in his memoirs, in 1752.

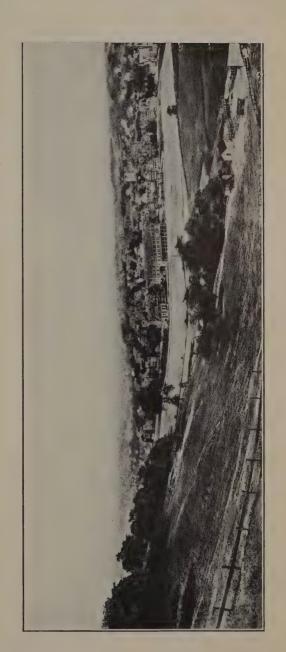
"He had been a commissioned officer in the British Army and while residing in Philadelphia, was eager to be one of the expedition under General Forbes against Fort Duquesne. Owing to his ill health, two commissions offered him had to be declined, but he was later made 'Commissary of Provisions,' and with General Forbes, entered Fort Duquesne on that memorable morning of November in 1758. After the arrival of General Stanwix he became Paymaster of Disbursements for the erection of Fort Pitt with the commission of Major.

"In 1770 he brought his wife and family of three children from Bedford where he had established one of his several trading stores, and built a house near the Monongahela River in Pittsburgh. Very interesting reading is his journal of those primitive days telling of the hardships of the pioneers, the suffering for want of medical care and homely comforts, and the cruelty and dishonesty of the Indians.

"Mrs. Barbara Ann (Winebiddle) Negley (mother-in-law of the late Judge Mellon, one of his contemporaries), thus described Ormsby: 'A fine looking man of aristocratic and military bearing, a gentle-man of the old school, noted for his immaculate breast and sleeve ruffles, the



SCHENLEY FARMS IN 1906 (Lower half continues panorama of upper half)





brightness of his shoe and knee buckles, and especially for his dress sword at his side.'

"His house was on Water Street, near the corner of Chancery Lane, next door to Samuel Semple's noted tavern. It was in the first instance built of logs and known to every one; for he was the owner of the first ferry across the Monongahela to his large estate on the South Side of the river, where he afterwards built a mansion. The town house was subsequently built of brick, and not a great while ago was converted into a warehouse.

"He is said to have accumulated, chiefly by grant from the government for services rendered, between two and three thousand acres, which he named Homestead Farms. His land, a small part of which was purchased from the Indians, fronted for miles along the South Side of the Monongahela River, opposite the present business part of the city and subsequently was known as the Boroughs of South Pittsburgh, Birmingham and East Birmingham and part of Lower St. Clair Township. It extended from what is now the Smithfield Street Bridge, westerly and up including the Borough of Ormsby.

"The surveys name the original patents, Barry Hall, Bergen Op Zoom, Ormsby Villa and Mount Oliver. Many streets on the South Side still bear the family names: Jane, Sarah, Mary, Sidney, Josephine, Phillips, Page and Wharton; and Mount Oliver is called for his only son Oliver.

"Both John Ormsby and his wife Jane McAllister Ormsby and his son Oliver and his wife, Sarah Mahan Ormsby, are buried in old Trinity Churchyard. Mr. Ormsby died at the town house of his son, Oliver Ormsby, on Water Street, in 1805.

"Oliver Ormsby's house on Water Street, inherited from his father, was not a great distance from the present Monongahela House. Here Mr. Ormsby resided for many years; and here he entertained frequent guests, many visiting from Cincinnati and Louisville; and from it, his daughters journeyed forth from time to time by stage and carriage and on horseback to attend boarding school in Philadelphia. Their house is shown and marked on the old Hauman plan of 1795.

"Mrs. Ormsby was reputed a beauty. A portrait (in miniature) of her was shown in a recent collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. This was an exhibit of miniature likenesses in black and white from copper plate, done by the Post-Revolutionary artist, St. Menin.

"Miss Mary Burgwin (her great grand daughter) has a copy of this miniature which pictures a sweet and girlish face. Masses of hair are swathed about the head in turban effect, fastened with jeweled clasps, and permitting softening ringlets to escape.

"The Oliver Ormsby family was large; there were ten children. That part of Homestead Farms, lying between what is now Twenty-First Street and Twenty-Fourth Street and extending up over the hill, after the death of Oliver Ormsby in 1832, comprised a family colony that was unique.

"There were five plots and the entrance from one to the other was by the old-fashioned stile.

"The first homestead, an old colonial house, came as a devise from Mr. Ormsby to his daughter Josephine, who married Commandant Edward Madison Yard, U. S. N. The Yard House is remembered by the large pillars at the entrance. It was subsequently occupied by Mrs. Yard's sister, Mrs. Clifton Wharton, and was probably the most picturesque of all the houses. It stood on a slight elevation overlooking the Monongahela River and Twenty-First Street and has only recently been demolished.

"Over the first stile lived Sidney, the third daughter, who married John Harding Page. Theirs was a low, rambling house and was known as 'The Dingle.' It had a large veranda across the front and along one side, and was surrounded by beautiful trees and heavy shrubbery.

"Beyond the Pages lived for many years Sarah Mahon Ormsby, the second daughter. She was married in 1827 to Major Asher Phillips, U. S. A. Their place was known as 'The Orchard.' It might well have been called 'The Rose Garden' for the profusion of red and pink roses.

"It was quite a distance from Mrs. Phillips' entrance gate to the door, and guests recall that as their carriages approached the gate a number of expectant small boys always materialized (apparently from empty space) to open the gate and be rewarded by the pennies thrown to them.

"The third stile led to Mary Ormsby's inheritance, with its spacious grounds, noted peach orchards and manor house not far from what is now Twenty-Fourth Street. She married into the Army and into the Phillips family, her husband being Lieutenant Elias Phillips, U. S. A., a younger brother of Major Asher Phillips, and a graduate of West Point. Their house was 'The White House.'

"The youngest daughter, Oliveretta, was married to Lt. Col. Clifton Wharton, U. S. A., also a graduate of West Point and widely known. Mrs. Wharton later occupied the Yard House with her two sons, Clifton Wharton, Jr., and Oliver F. Wharton, and her daughter Josephine Burgwin Wharton, afterward married to the late Pressley Neville Chaplin.

"Mary and Oliveretta Ormsby were both beautiful as young women and were the subject of many a toast at the army posts where they were accustomed to visit their elder sister Sarah.

"Not far distant was the county seat of the only brother, Dr. Oliver H. Ormsby, located towards the hill side on what are now known as South Twenty-Fifth, Twenty-Sixth, and Twenty-Seventh Streets. 'Ormsby Manor' included forest and meadow land and even a gentleman's small racing track. The old house, well known for many beautiful entertainments, still stands, but now closely shut in by tenement houses, idle, tenantless and by the world forgotten.

"These places were the scene of a simple, old-time hospitality, extensive and charming. With the exception of Mrs. Page, the hostesses were all the widows of army and navy officers.

"Their homes were reached from the city by carriage over the old Smithfield Street Bridge.

"Among the children of Mrs. Asher Phillips were the late Ormsby Phillips, at one time mayor of Allegheny; and Mary Phillips, wife of Hill Burgwin, whose country place was known to a later generation as 'Hasell-Hill,' Hazelwood."

Major Ebenezer Denny, who was conspicuous in Pittsburgh's early affairs, was another citizen who had served as an officer during the War of the Revolution. He had been with the First, Third and Fourth Pennsylvania Regiments and before that had served as lieutenant under General George Rogers Clark in Illinois and as adjutant to General Josiah Harmar in an Indian campaign of 1790. As an aide-de-camp of General Arthur St. Clair he had carried the news of the rout of St. Clair's army to President Washington at the Capitol, Philadelphia.

Together with another officer of the Revolution, Captain Joseph Ashton, he went into business in Pittsburgh. Later, in 1794, Major Denny again took a military command in an expedition to Fort LeBœuf. He was the first mayor of Pittsburgh when it became a city in 1816.

Albert Gallatin, a French Swiss, who was elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and at the same time to Congress, attained high political honors. President Jefferson appointed him Secretary of the Treasury and still later he became United States Minister to France and to England.

Another Frenchman who attained political prominence was John B. C. Lucas who in 1796 lived on a farm on Coal Hill on the south side of the Monongahela. In 1805 he was appointed United States District Judge for the new Territory of Louisiana, now the State of Missouri.

"Homewood," as it was known for ninety years, was the homestead of the

Honorable William Wilkins. Judge Wilkins became Judge of the United States District Court, General of Militia, United States Senator, Minister to Russia and Secretary of War. At his first residence near the old Monongahela House he entertained President James Monroe in 1817 and General Lafayette in 1825. Most of the celebrities passing through Pittsburgh were guests at his home. Among them were General Jackson, General Zachary Taylor, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun.

Mrs. Wilkins was Mathilda Dallas, daughter of George Dallas, Vice-President of the United States. What is now Fricks' Woods was part of the Wilkins Estate and later became the summer home of Mrs. James A. Hutchinson, a granddaughter of Judge Wilkins. This woods was known to the Wilkins family as "Gunn's Hill," because on the side of the hill was the old cabin of a settler's family named Gunn, which was believed to have been the scene of the last Indian massacre in this part of the country.

Judge Wilkins had been a law student under James Ross, who is said to have been the first enrolled member of the Pittsburgh Bar. Ross was an eminent lawyer and statesman and became United States Senator. Before he had studied law Mr. Ross was a teacher of Latin and Greek in the Cannonsburg Academy. He married Ann Woods of Bedford County.

The original Ross homestead was on Grant's Hill. Judge Mellon described it as "an impretentious frame building, which stood in an orchard on a lot of six or seven acres. Fifth Avenue and Diamond Street have since been located across the upper end of these grounds and the Court House and jail are built on part of it."

Senator Ross's country place, "The Meadows," now known as "Ross Farm," is at the present time a roadhouse. The district now including the Field Club, Shadyside Academy, Fox Chapel Golf Club and Aviation Field, was part of the Ross estate.

When the Bank of Philadelphia established a branch in Pittsburgh in 1804, the Philadelphia organization sent John Thaw as Chief Clerk in the Office of Discount and Deposit. Four years later he bought a brick house (for \$1,305) on Wood Street, next to the northeast corner of Third Street, now Third Avenue. This property passed to his son William, who bought the adjoining property at the corner of Third Avenue. To-day a part of that ground is covered by the new building of the Young Men's Christian Association which bears a bronze tablet: "On this site William Thaw was born October 12, 1818."

John Thaw's grandson Benjamin Thaw possesses the extremely interesting description of the original Thaw home in Pittsburgh drawn up preparatory to securing a Perpetual Insurance Policy, closely and beautifully written over several pages.

The head of the Bakewell family in America was Benjamin Bakewell

who came to Pittsburgh in 1808 and who first manufactured the famous and valuable Bakewell glass now so prized by collectors everywhere. He lived on Fourth Street near Grant. He was a man of great force of character and interested in all civic and benevolent activities.

"The 'Bakewell Colony on Grant Street,' says the Western Pennsylvania Society Historical Magazine, "is a frequent expression used in old newspapers. The first issue of the City Directory, in 1815, records the residence of Benjamin Bakewell on the south side of Fourth Street between Cherry Alley and Grant Street; the Directory of 1841 gives James Palmer Bakewell, Second Street near Grant; in 1844 Thomas Bakewell's dwelling house was on Grant Street on the present site of the Frick Building; and the Directory of 1847 gives William Bakewell's address as Grant Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets."

Fine pieces of early Bakewell glass are possessed by the great grand-daughters of Benjamin Bakewell, Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Mrs. T. H. B. McKnight, Mrs. Charles Wharton and Mrs. George Irwin Holdship.

Peter Shoenberger, whose iron plants in many localities had a great reputation, built his home in 1824 not far from the Juniata Iron Works on the Allegheny River bank near the present Fifteenth Street, His son, John H. Shoenberger, had his summer residence on Butler Street near Forty-seventh Street within what is now the Allegheny Cemetery. His town house at 425 Penn Avenue since 1883 has been the Pittsburgh Club. Mrs. Shoenberger was Margaret Cust of Kittanning.

One of the most interesting of Pennsylvania family biographies is that of Alexander Negley of Pittsburgh. Once again we quote the very interesting article by the late Annie Clark Miller, wife of the late Judge J. J. Miller, published in July, 1926, by the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society:

"One of the earliest white settlers in the East Liberty valley was Alexander Negley, of Swiss ancestry, whose family settled in Bucks County, near Philadelphia, in 1739, when Alexander was five years of age. Here he was educated, attained manhood and married Mary Ann Berkstressor, of the same county.

"During his term of Revolutionary service he was attracted by the prospective advantages of Western Pennsylvania, and decided to bring his family to what was then the Western frontier.

"He first bought land between Ligonier and New Florence. This tract is now part of the estate of his great grandson, James Ross Mellon, and is known today as Rachelwood.

"Their life on the mountains was evidently one of adventure and anxiety, for one son, John Negley, was born in old Fort Ligonier during a period of waiting for the defeat or departure of the Indian besiegers. "In 1778 he brought his wife and five children to the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, and settled on a farm of about three hundred acres. A large part of that farm is now included in Highland Park. He built a log cabin and later a more substantial house, on a knoll that is now the basin of the Highland Reservoir.

"It was customary, almost necessary, in those days to have a family burial ground. A simple column erected by Sarah Jane Negley (Mellon) in Highland Park, in an enclosure known as the Negley Circle, marks the resting place of this rugged family:

"'Sacred to the memory of those noble Christian pioneers, who moulded the character of this community in its struggling formative period.

"'This monument marks the center of a burial ground located on the former homestead of Alexander Negley, where are interred about fifty early settlers of the East Liberty Valley."

## CHAPTER VII

PITTSBURGH'S CIVIL AND MUNICIPAL HISTORY



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## PITTSBURGH'S CIVIL AND MUNICIPAL HISTORY

Civil Government Begins in 1771—Allegheny County Carved from Westmoreland and Washington Counties in 1788—Several Later Counties Formed from Portion of Allegheny County—Pittsburgh Becomes Borough in 1794—Eminent Citizens Fined for Declining Public Office—Borough Chartered as a City in 1816—Names in Directory of 1812—Councilmanic Census of Manufacturers in 1817—Early "Watch" or Police Patrol—The Volunteer Fire Departments and Their Bitter Rivalries—Great Fire of 1845—Convict-Mayor Barker and His Arrest of Bishop O'Connor—Paid Fire Department Organized in 1870—City and County Lend Money to Railroads—Taxpayers Attempt to Repudiate Railroad Bonds—Great Railroad Riots of 1877 and Report of Legislative Investigating Committee.

The first attempt at civil government for Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania was made in 1771, when the Penns appointed Arthur St. Clair, Æneas Mackay, Devereux Smith, and Andrew McFarlane to act as magistrates in Westmoreland County, which then included almost all of Western Pennsylvania. Previous to this the settlement had practically been under the rule of the Commandant of Fort Pitt.

While the Indians on the frontier appeared to be peaceably inclined, the departure of the garrison, in the latter part of 1772, caused great consternation among the inhabitants who feared that without protection the growth and prosperity of the town would be seriously retarded. A petition was sent to Governor Penn urging the necessity for the continuance of the military force at Fort Pitt. The Governor applied to General Gage, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, for the restoration of the garrison, but the request was refused on the ground that "no government can undertake to erect forts for the advantage of forty or fifty people."

Again the inhabitants of the town and vicinity became apprehensive of the Indians and sent a petition to Governor Penn for protection. Among the signers of this petition are to be found the names of many men who afterwards rose to positions of prominence in the various walks of life in Pittsburgh, and whose influence is still felt by the citizens of to-day. The list is given complete, as it is, with the signers of the protest of 1781, against the retention of Colonel Broadhead as Commandant at Fort Pitt, the only record extant of

even a portion of the inhabitants from the enumeration of 1760, down to the early part of the next century: "Ensign McKay, Devereux Smith, William Butler, James O'Hara, Samuel McKenzie, John Ormsby, John McAllister, Andrew Robinson, Edward Thompson, William Evans, William McClellan, William Lea, Frederick Henry, John Henry, Christopher Miller, John Stewart, Richard Carson, James Carnahan, John Chilton, John Carnahan, Peter Eckley, Edward Murray, William McConnell, James Kyle, Benjamin Coe, Joseph Kyle, John Worf, Robert Patterson, Reuben Powell, Peter Coe, William Elliott, John Emerson, Adam McClintock, James Neely, Leaven Cooper, Nathaniel Field, Aldrich Allen, David Watson, John Cleghorn, Stephen Lowry, Silas Miller, William Stewart, Clarence Findley, John Findley, Andrew Findley, Robert Thompson, Samuel Magomery, Thomas Carroll, James Patterson, Arthur St. Clair, James Pollock, David Sample, Michael Hufnagle, Samuel Shannon, Samuel Smith, James Dugan, George Hutcheson, George McDowell, Nathan Young, Michael Coffman, William Piper, George Glenn, David McCann, Alexander Johnston, John Cavenaugh, Robert Nox, James McDowell, Thomas Bleack, David Thompson, Jacob Meens, John Smith, John McNaghar, Hugh Lorrimer, Benjamin Sitten, Thomas Sutton, H. Slatten, David Loveger, James McCurdy, Abel Fisher, Robert Porter, John Livingston, Robert Laughlin, Charles Kille, Dudley Dougherty, Hugh Hamill, Richard Shannon, John Wesnor, John Shannon, Joseph Gaskins, Robert McDowell, John Jordan, John Smith, Thomas Galbraith, Samuel Evans, Henry Fitzgerald, Edmund Mullaly, James Thompson, Robert Mickey, David Mickey, Alexander McDowell and William McKenzie."

One of the most interesting pictures of Pittsburgh at about the time its municipal government was being established is that left by Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge in an article published in 1786 by the newly established newspaper, the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. Judge Brackenridge, an outstanding citizen of the community, was depicting it as an inviting haven for settlers. He entitled his article:

"Observations on the Country at the Head of the Ohio River, with Digressions on Various Subjects, July Twenty-ninth, 1786.

"The Allegheny River running from the northeast and the Monongahela from the southwest, meet at an angle of about thirty-three degrees and form the Ohio; which is said to signify in some of the Indian languages, bloody; so that the Ohio River may be translated, the 'River of Blood.' The French have called it 'La Belle Rivière.'

"It may have received the name Ohio about the beginning of the present century, when the Six Nations made war upon their fellow savages in these territories and subjected several tribes.

"The word Monongahela is said to signify in some of the Indian languages, the 'Falling in Banks,' that is, the stream of the falling in, or mouldering banks.

"At the distance of about four or five hundred yards from the head of the Ohio, is a small island lying to the northwest side of the river at a distance of seventy-five yards from the shore. It is covered with wood, and at the lowest part is a lofty hill famous for the number of wild turkeys which inhabit it. The island is not more in length than a quarter of a mile and in breadth about one hundred yards. A small space on the upper end is cleared and grown with grass. The savages had cleared it during the late war, a party of them attached to the United States having placed their wigwams and raised corn there. The Ohio, at a distance of about one mile from its source, winds around the lower end of the island and disappears. I call the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela the source of the Ohio.

"At the head of the Ohio river stands the town of Pittsburgh on an angular piece of ground, the two rivers forming the two sides of the angle; on this point stood the old French Fort known by the name of Fort Duquesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under General Forbes; the appearance of the ditch and mound, with the salient angles and bastions still remain so as to prevent that perfect level of the ground which otherwise would exist.

"Just above these works is the present garrison, built by General Stanwix and is said to have cost the Crown of Britain sixty thousand pounds. The fortification is regular, constructed according to the rules of art, and about three years ago put in good repair by General Irvine, who commanded at the post. It has the advantage of an excellent magazine, built of stone. There is a line of posts below it on the Ohio River, to the distance of three hundred miles. The savages come to this place for trade and not for war, and any future contest we may have with them will be on the heads of the more northern rivers that fall into the Mississippi.

"The bank of the Allegheny, on the northwest side of the town of Pittsburgh, is planted with an orchard of apple trees, with some pear trees intermixed; these trees are said to have been planted by the British officer who commanded here early in the first occupation of it by the Crown of England. Near the garrison on the Allegheny bank were what was called the King's Artillery Gardens, cultivated highly to usefulness and pleasure.

"On the margin of this river once stood a row of houses, elegant and neat and not unworthy of the European taste, but they were swept away in the course of time, some for the purpose of forming an opening to the river from the garrison, that the artillery might incommode the approaching enemy, and, deprived of shelter, some were torn away by the fury of the rising river; these buildings were the receptacles of the ancient Indian trade, which coming from the westward, centered in this quarter, but of these buildings no trace remains; those who twenty years ago saw them flourish, can only say, 'here they stood.'

"On the west side of the Allegheny River, opposite the orchard, is a level of three thousand acres, reserved by the State to be laid out in lots for the purpose of a town. A small stream at right angles to the river passes through it. On this ground it is supposed a town may stand, but on all hands it is excluded from the praise of being a situation so convenient as on the side of the river where the present town is situated.

"This bank is closely set with buildings nearly half a mile, and behind this range the town chiefly lies, falling back on the plains between the two rivers. To the eastward is Grant's Hill; this is the hill and from whence it takes its name, where in the war which terminated in 1763, Grant, advancing with about eight hundred Caledonians or Highland Scotch troops, beat a reveille a little after sunrise, to the French garrison who accompanied by a number of savages, sallied out and flanking him unseen from the bottom on the left and right, then covered with wood, ascended the hill, tomahawked and cut his troops to pieces and made Grant himself a prisoner. Bones and weapons are yet found on the hill—the bones white with weather and the weapons covered with rust.

"On the summit of this hill is a mound of earth, supposed to be the ancient burying place of the savages. There can be no doubt of this as on opening some of the hills of earth, bones are found. In places where stones are plenty these mounds are raised of stones and skeletons are found in them.

"To the northeast of Grant's Hill there is one still higher, about a quarter of a mile, which is called the Quarry Hill, from the excellent stone quarry that has been opened in it. From the Quarry Hill you have a view of four or five miles of the Allegheny River. Directly opposite on the Monongahela, to the southeast, stands a hill of the same height and appearance, known as Ayre's Hill, so called from a British Engineer of that name; on this hill was the residence of Anthony Thompson, the vestige of whose habitation still remains, an extent of the ground cleared by him lies to the north, accustomed to long cultivation, and now thrown out a common. The best brick may be made from this ground.

"The town of Pittsburgh consists at present of one hundred houses; the inhabitants are about 1500, this number doubling almost every year

from the accession of people from abroad and the number born in town. "A clergyman is settled in this town of the Calvinist church. Some of the inhabitants are of the Lutheran or Episcopal Church, but the distinction is brought little into view.

"A clergyman of the German Calvinist church also occasionally preaches in this town and it is expected from the increase of German inhabitants that a clergyman who can deliver himself in this language will in a short time be supported here altogether. In laying out the town of Pittsburgh five lots have been assigned for churches and for burying grounds; these comprehend the former burying ground and which is adjoining to the ancient cemetery of the natives, being one of those mounds before mentioned, and which from the height of earth in this place would seem to have been a place of sepulchre for ages. These lots are about the center of the town as it is laid out and at an intermediate distance between the two rivers. A church is on the way to be built of squared timber and moderate dimensions which may accommodate the people until a larger building can be erected.

"In this town we have also two gentlemen of the medical faculty, one a native of South Britain (Dr. Nathaniel Bedford) the other a native of America (Dr. Thomas Parker), but though health may be counted a birthright of this place we account these gentlemen a great acquisition. I will not take the liberty of saying anything with respect to the respective merits or professional abilities of these gentlemen, but I will answer for it that if individuals or families at any time should think it advisable to cross the mountains and spend a few months in Pittsburgh for the sake of health they will find it in their power to receive the best advice that science can afford and the most judicious treatment.

"There are also two of the profession of the law (Judge Brackenridge and John Woods) resident in this town; the bulk of the inhabitants are traders, mechanics and laborers; of mechanics and laborers there is still a great want, masons and carpenters are especially wanted, indeed from the circumstance the improvement of the town and buildings is greatly retarded. This town in future time will be a place of great manufactory. Indeed the greatest on the continent, or perhaps in the world. The present carriage from Philadelphia is six pence for each pound weight and however improved the conveyance may be, and by whatever channel, yet such is our distance from either of the oceans that the importation of heavy articles will still be expensive. The manufacturing them will therefore become more an object here than elsewhere. It is a prospect of this with men of reflection which renders the soil of this place so valuable.

"The situation of the town of Pittsburgh is greatly to be chosen

for a seat of learning, the fine air, the excellent water, the plenty and cheapness of provisions, render it highly favorable. The inhabitants have entertained the idea of instituting an academy, but have it not in their power all at once to accomplish every wish. Public spirit is not more apparent amongst any people but it is impossible to answer every demand which a thousand wants of those settling a new country require. The first efforts have been made to accommodate themselves with lots of ground, with buildings and the common means of life, next to establish and support a Christian church, in a short time more conveniently they may be able to attend to that great object, the education of youth, one or two schools are established to teach the first elements. but it is greatly desirable that there be such which can conduct to more advancement in science. It is provided by our Constitution that public schools be erected in every county. Agreeable to this provision it may be expedient that the Legislature establish schools in each county. either by an appropriation of something from the public funds, or by special county tax, nevertheless, I am disposed to be of the opinion that it would better answer the object that a few schools, well endowed, be established throughout the State where men of superior academic knowledge may find it advisable to remain a number of years or for life."

While there was a Pittsburgh before there was an Allegheny County, the county came into existence as a legal entity before the city of Pittsburgh which was to become the county seat.

Allegheny County was organized by Act of the General Assembly of September 24th, 1788, from the counties of Westmoreland and Washington. An additional strip from Washington County was added by Act of September 17th, 1789. The boundaries as thus fixed were as follows: Beginning on the Ohio River, where the boundary of the state crosses the river; thence in a straight line to White's Mill on Raccoon Creek; thence by a straight line to Armstrong's Mill, on Miller's Run; thence by a straight line to the Monongahela River, opposite the mouth of Perry's Run; thence up said river to the mouth of Beckert's Run; thence by a straight line to the mouth of Sewickley Creek, on the Youghiogheny River; thence down the said river to the mouth of Crawford's Run; thence by a straight line to the mouth of Brush Creek, on Turtle Creek; thence up Turtle Creek to the main fork thereof; thence by a northerly line until it strikes Puckety's Creek; thence down said creek to the Allegheny River; thence up said river to the northern boundary of the state; thence along the same to the western line of the state: thence along the same to the Ohio River.

Originally Pennsylvania had no harbor on Lake Erie, the northwest corner of the state merely touching the lake. To obtain a harbor, the state purchased

in 1789 the Erie triangle, having a base of about 40 miles along the northern boundary, and about 20 miles along the New York line, including the town and harbor of Erie. This triangle by act of April 3rd, 1792, was added to Allegheny County.

The county of Allegheny, as thus constituted, embraced the portions taken from Westmoreland and Washington, south of the Ohio and east of the Allegheny, and all of the vast region lying between the Ohio River and Lake Erie, and from the Allegheny River to the state of Ohio.\*

At that time this region was mainly a wilderness. There were four forts—at Beaver, Franklin, Erie, and the head of French Creek—and trading posts at these and other points had been established, but there were very few settlements. The Indian title was not extinguished until 1784, and none of the lands were opened for settlement or purchase until 1785.

When the county was organized there was but one voting place for the whole territory—in the town of Pittsburgh. In 1789, by Act of September 20th, a second election district was formed of the territory between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny River, to vote at house of David Robinson; a third, by act of September 29th, 1789, of Plum and Versailles townships, to vote at house of Matthew Simpson; a fourth, by act of September 30, 1791, at house of Col. Samuel Wilson of the territory of Flaugherty's Run (south of the Ohio River) to state line; a fifth, by act of March 22nd, 1793, of Mifflin and part of St. Clair Townships, at John Reed's house; a sixth, by act of April 13th, 1795, from Chartiers Creek down to Miller's Run, at Henry Noble's house, in "Noblesburgh"; the seventh, by act of March 21st, 1797, of Irwin and Mead Townships (the first in the new territory), to vote at the block house, in "Mead-borough"; the eighth, by act of April 4th, 1799, of Erie Township, at James Baird's house, in town of Erie. By two acts of April 8th, 1700, eight other election districts were formed—of Middlesex Township, at Andrew McClure's house; part of Erie triangle, at Timothy Tutle's house; tract adjoining "Little Coniott Lake," at John McGunnigle's house; along Lake Erie at northwest corner, at Thomas Hamilton's, in town of Lexington; one at the south of the southeast corner of the triangle; one at the east of the southeast corner of the triangle, at William Miles' house; another south of the above at James Buchanan's house, and another on the Ohio state line at David Sample's house.

By act of March 12th, 1800, the territory was divided, forming eight new counties, although all were not immediately organized as independent counties—Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Warren, Venango and Armstrong. A part of Washington County was included in Beaver, a part of Westmoreland and Lycoming in Armstrong, and a part of Lycoming in Warren and Venango, leaving Allegheny County with its present boundaries

<sup>\*</sup> The Rev. A. A. Lambing's Centennial History of Allegheny County.

except a small portion included in Indiana County by act of March 12th, 1803. In the original act of September 24th, 1788, trustees were appointed to lay off ground in the reserve tract opposite Pittsburgh (now Allegheny) and select lots for public buildings, court house and jail. That part was repealed by act of April 13th, 1791, and five trustees were appointed—George Wallace, Devereux Smith, William Elliott, Jacob Bausman, and John Wilkins—to purchase a lot in the "town of Pittsburgh," and "erect a court house and prison sufficient for the public purposes of said county."

At the first term of court after the act of September 24th, 1788, the county was divided into seven townships: Moon, St. Clair, and Mifflin embraced the territory on the south of the Ohio River and west of the Monongahela, that is, all between those rivers, and Washington County; Elizabeth Township embraced all between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers; Versailles and Plum embraced the upper portion along the Westmoreland line from the Youghiogheny to the Allegheny River; Pitt Township included the town and extended some distance up both rivers, and embraced all the region lying north and west of the Ohio and Allegheny. Before 1800 seven other townships were formed; two on the south side, Fayette, in 1790, and Robinson, in 1799; and five, north of the rivers—Deer, Indiana, Ohio, Ross and Pine—formed about 1796.

Pittsburgh was incorporated a borough in 1794, and a city in 1816, with the same boundary, to wit: Beginning at the confluence of the two rivers, thence up the Monongahela 295 perches to the mouth of "Sook's" Run; thence north 30 degrees east, 150 perches to a post in Andrew Watson's field; thence north, 19 degrees west, 150 perches to the Allegheny River; thence down the river 315 perches to the place of beginning. The city was extended under various acts of Assembly, absorbing the boroughs of Birmingham, Northern Liberties, Lawrenceville, South Pittsburgh, East Birmingham, West Pittsburgh, Monongahela, Temperanceville, Mt. Washington, Ormsby, Union, Allentown and St. Clair, and the townships of Pitt (or what was left of it), Peebles, Oakland, Collins and Liberty.

Allegheny was incorporated a borough in 1828 and a city in 1840. Its boundaries were extended at different times, absorbing the boroughs of Manchester, and Duquesne, and the township of McClure and part of Reserve.

Other boroughs were incorporated and townships formed, as follows:

Boroughs.—Bellevue in 1867, Beltzhoover in 1875, Braddock in 1867, Chartiers in 1872, Coraopolis in 1886, Elizabeth in 1834, Etna in 1868, Glenfield in 1875, Green Tree in 1885, Homestead in 1880, Knoxville in 1877, Mansfield in 1872, Millvale in 1868, McKeesport in 1842, Osburn in 1881, Reynoldton in 1886, Sewickley in 1853, Sharpsburg in 1841, Spring Garden in 1883, Tarentum in 1842, Verona in 1871, West Bellevue in 1874, West

Elizabeth in 1848, West Liberty in 1876 and Wilkinsburgh in the year 1887. Townships.—Aleppo in 1876, Baldwin in 1844, Bethel in 1886, Chartiers in 1851, Collier in 1875, Crescent in 1855, East Deer in 1836, Fawn in 1857, Findlay in 1820, Forward in 1869, Franklin in 1823, Hampton in 1861, Harmar in 1875, Harrison in 1863, Jefferson in 1828, Killbuck in 1869, Leet in 1869, Lincoln in 1869, Lower St. Clair in 1839, Marshall in 1863, McCandless in 1851, Neville in 1854, North Fayette in 1846, North Versailles in 1869, O'Hara in 1875, Ohio in 1796, Patton in 1849, Penn in 1850, Richland in 1860, Sewickley in 1854, Scott in 1861, Shaler in 1847, Snowden in 1845, Springdale in 1875, Stowe in 1869, South Fayette in 1846, South Versailles in 1869, Sterrett in 1876, Union in 1860, Upper St. Clair in 1839, West Deer in 1836 and Wilkins in 1821.

It has been stated on a preceding page that Allegheny County, both because Pittsburgh had become the center of population in Western Pennsylvania and because the people here were complaining of the inconvenience of having to attend court in Greensburg, had been carved out of Westmoreland County and increased by a portion of territory taken from Washington County. The Act of Assembly of September 24th, 1788, erecting Allegheny County, did not, however, wholly complete the area which was eventually to be comprised between Allegheny County's limits. In 1789, an additional portion of Washington County was annexed, and on the third day of March, 1702, the Governor of Pennsylvania purchased upwards of 200,000 acres of the United States, on Lake Erie, for \$151,740.25, Continental money, thus giving the State and the County a port on the Great Lakes. Some idea of the size of Allegheny County, after these additions had been made, may be gained from the fact that when the county was reduced to its present size in 1800, out of it were erected the counties of Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Warren, Venango, Armstrong and part of Indiana and Clarion. Allegheny County, as thus finally determined, is irregular in outline, about 26 miles in diameter, with an area of 754 square miles or 482,560 acres.

The breaking out of the struggle between England and the Colonies retarded immigration and, hence, in a measure, the growth of the town; it was not until after the Revolution that Pittsburgh again resumed the substantial progress which had been interrupted by the conspiracy of Pontiac in 1763. The poverty-stricken Continental Government availed itself of the large and vacant Northwest Territory as a means of payment to its soldiers, and, with this added incentive, immigration was resumed.

This immigation and settlement of new territory was a most important factor in the growth of Pittsburgh, as the Ohio River was the natural highway to the West. In 1787 the population of the Northwest Territory was estimated at 3,000 or 4,000. Much of the emigration to Kentucky, beginning at the close of the Revolution, likewise passed through Pittsburgh. In the

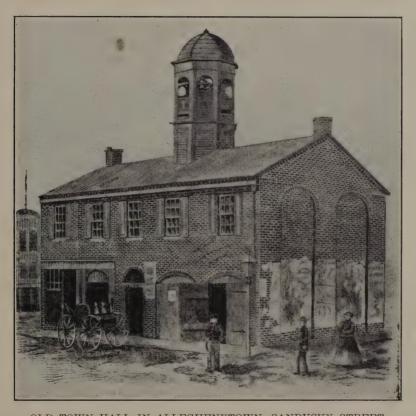
Pittsburgh Gazette of January 17, 1789, it is estimated that from October, 1786, to December, 1788, 16,203 persons went westward on the Ohio River. But this progress of Pittsburgh was only comparative, and though it was substantial, it was not of an increasing vigor; it was only the slow beginning of things. The really marked advance began in the summer of 1794, after General Wayne's decisive victory over the Indians, which relieved Pittsburgh and its vicinity from all further fear of them.

The treaty made by Thomas and Richard Penn with the Six Nations in 1768, secured to them, for \$10,000, all the country in the Province of Pennsylvania south of the west branch of the Susquehanna and of a straight line from the northwest corner of Cambria County to Kittanning, and all east of the Allegheny below Kittanning, and all south of the Ohio. While they prepared to sell their lands, they decided to reserve for their private estate certain sections which they regarded as especially valuable, owing to favorable location or for other reasons. Those sections were called manors, and among them was the Manor of Pittsburgh, comprising 5,766 acres about the headwaters of the Ohio. The survey of this manor was made in the early part of 1769.

By an Act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, March 12th, 1783, a tract of land, 3,000 acres in extent and rectangular, was surveyed along the north shore of the Allegheny in 1785 to provide for the redemption of the certificates of depreciation issued to the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, and to fulfill the State's promise of 1780 to donate lands to them.

On September 11th, 1787, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania ordered this reserve tract, "opposite Pittsburgh," to be surveyed and laid out in lots and exposed for sale, reserving a generous section for State and public purposes, such as a court house, gaol and market house, for places of public worship and burying the dead, and a common pasture of 100 acres. The survey was made early in 1788. This was the actual beginning of "Alleghanytown," and among the earliest realty holders were Richard Elliott and William Butler, James Robinson and Daniel Elliott.

But the court house and county seat were not destined to be located on that side of the river, as provided by the Act of 1788 erecting the county. The topography was extremely uninviting, according to David Redick's report to the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania in February, 1788, relative to the sale of lots in the tract, and meanwhile, Pittsburghers were advocating the erection of the county buildings in Pittsburgh, and upon their petition a subsequent act was passed April 13th, 1791, repealing that part of the act authorizing the trustees therein named to erect the court house and gaol on the reserved tract opposite Pittsburgh. Section II empowered George Wallace, Devereux Smith, William Elliott, Jacob Baufman and John Wilkins, or any three of them, "to purchase and take assurance in the name of the



OLD TOWN HALL IN ALLEGHENYTOWN, SANDUSKY STREET



commonwealth for the use and benefit of the county of Allegheny, of some convenient piece of ground in the town of Pittsburgh, and thereupon to erect a court house and prison, sufficient for the public purposes of the said county." The act also authorized them to draw on the County Commissioners for the necessary sum of money; also, until the county buildings could be built, they were authorized to rent a convenient building for a court house and jail at the expense of the county.

The court house was erected on the Diamond, on the west side of Market Street, between Fourth and Fifth, where the municipal market now is. The structure was of brick, and consisted of a main building with two wings, the central part having two stories. The courtroom occupied the ground floor of the main building and was paved with brick. This room was adorned with Corinthian columns, which served as a support to the floor above. The judge's bench faced the main entrance which was on Market Street. The wing toward Fifth Street (now Fifth Avenue), contained the offices of the Register, Recorder and Sheriff, while the Treasurer and Commissioner occupied the other wing. The architect was Henry Perry, of whom nothing further can be learned than that he spent his latter days as a farmer in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. The builders were George Robinson, carpenter; William Gray, brick mason, and William Watson, builder of the stone steps. The date of the erection of Allegheny County's first court house ranges in the various accounts extant, most of which are modern, from 1789 to 1799. From the evidence accessible, it was not completed until the latter date, although it may have been begun late in 1795 or in 1796.

Pittsburgh was incorporated as a borough by an Act dated April 22nd, 1794. This Act provided that "the freeholders and other inhabitant housekeepers" should hold an election on the third Monday in May of every year, to choose two fit persons to be burgesses, "who shall be freeholders therein," the person having the greater number of votes to be styled the Chief Burgess. four suitable persons—likewise freeholders—to be assistants, to aid the burgesses, and likewise a high constable and town clerk. The election was to be held by the high constable of the previous year, and if two burgesses should have received an equal number of votes the Governor was to determine who should be chief. If the borough neglected to hold an election, then it devolved on the Governor to "nominate, appoint and commissionate" borough officials until the next annual election. A clerk of the market was provided for, and the borough was authorized to hold two markets in each week, one on Wednesday and one on Saturday, in each year. For the rest, the Act referred to the Act incorporating the borough of Reading as more fully defining the duties and powers of the new borough of Pittsburgh. This Act provided for two fairs in each year, on the 4th of June and 27th of October, bestowed ample authority for the proper government of the town, the improvement of the streets, and the maintenance of order. A striking feature was the reiterated penalty to be imposed on citizens refusing to accept public office. It was apparently considered that even the office of Chief Burgess might be regarded as undesirable, and declined, and the person declining was made liable to a fine. The following from the records of the borough shows how these early city fathers proceeded to business:

Agreeable to an Act to erect the Town of Pittsburgh, in the County of Allegheny into a Borough, and for other purposes therein mentioned—an election was held at the Market House on May 19, 1794, when the following persons were duly elected:

George Robinson, Chief Burgess; Josiah Tannehill, Burgess; Samuel Morrison, High Constable; James Clow, Town Clerk; Nathaniel Irish, John Johnson, George Adams, Nathaniel Bedford, Assistants; William Amberson, Abraham Kirkpatrick, Assessors; William Gray, John McMasters, Supervisors.

Two days later the formal organization of the infant borough was completed and the following minute was noted:

"Nathaniel Bedford declined serving as Assistant and John McMasters as Supervisor.

"Whereupon the High Constable was ordered to hold a new election on Monday the 26th inst. Mett on the 27th inst.

"An election was held accordingly, when William Dunning was duly elected Assistant Burgess in room, &c., instead of Nathaniel Bedford. At the same time the Burgess, &c., appointed James Clow Clerk of the Market and James Hensey Supervisor in room, instead of John McMasters, who declined.

"The Court then proceeded to consider the fines of the delinquents, thereupon resolved that a fine of one pound ten shillings be levied on Nathaniel Bedford.

"And that the sum of three pounds be levied from John McMasters.
"Pursuant to adjournment the Burgess, &c., mett on the 28th

ultimo, and

"Resolved, That there be a seal for the Borough, which shall be made of silver and with the following device, viz.: A wheat sheaf supported by a key with the initials of the Borough of Pittsburgh upon the seal.

Geo. Robinson, C. Burgess."

Attest:

JAMES CLOW, T. Clerk."

There need not have been much wonder if the High Constable had declined his office. The fees of the constables in those days were, for levying a warrant or serving a summons, 13 cents; traveling expenses, each mile, three cents; serving attachment, 26 cents; serving execution for debt, 20 cents; selling goods taken on execution, "for every pound of money made, 13 cents"; summoning a witness, 10 cents; conveying a person to prison on mittimus, 25 cents. With such compensation as this, a man must have had a singular craving for official life to be tempted by its allurements.

Shortly after organization the borough proceeded to provide a market house. It is recorded that "at a meeting held at the Court House on the eighth day of July, 1794, it was ruled and ordained that a public market house should be placed on the public square of the borough. And at a meeting of the Burgesses, &c., at the house of John McMasters on the Business of the borough a town meeting was proposed to be held at Court House on the 12th inst., which was held accordingly, at which meeting a representation of a respectable number of the inhabitants being presented to the Burgesses praying to determine the propriety of a second market house in the said borough. But on suggestion that a sufficient notice had not been given a postponement was ordered to the evening of the 19th inst.; at same place and agreeable to notice given the inhabitants in general met on July 19, 1794, when it was ordained by a majority of voters that a second market house should be built on the bank of the Monongahela River, opposite the foot of Market Street, by subscription, as proposed." At a meeting of the burgesses, assistants, and high constable, on August 8th, 1704, it was "ruled and ordained that every person that is liable to pay borough taxes is eligible to vote in making the laws of the corporation."

The year 1794 likewise witnessed the organization of the first fire company. The project for the formation of this company was begun in 1792, as shown by the following receipt among papers discovered some years ago in the Comptroller's office of the city:

"Received of James Horner, Esq., one hundred pounds Penna. currency, to be applied in paying for a fire engine.

John Wilkins, Jr., Pittsburgh."

Twelfth September, 1792.

This engine was purchased by the individual contributions of citizens, all of any position in the community giving according to their means. It was a hand machine, of the rude pattern of that day, and was brought over the mountains in sections on Conestoga wagons, and put together by John Johnston, who afterward became postmaster. The name of the company was the Eagle. Mr. Johnston was made first engineer, and Jeremiah Barker and Robert Magee (grandfather of Judge Christopher Magee) were assistant

engineers. The engine was small and of the most simple construction, and it is said could almost be carried by the men to a fire. There were no hose or plugs, and water was carried in buckets. Messrs. Barker and Magee, already mentioned, were, with John Hannah, James Gray, James B. Clow, and William Watson, directors of the association. In 1800 William Lecky, afterwards sheriff of the county, became engineer. The house which the company occupied was a small building erected on First Street (now First Avenue) near Chancery Lane, and between Market and Ferry Streets. The apparatus was kept under lock and key, Messrs. Barker, Johnston, and Magee, who lived opposite, having alone access thereto.

The town, about the date of its incorporation as a borough, stretched from the Point to Grant Street on the Monongahela side, and from the Point to Washington Street (now Eleventh), along the Allegheny River. Penn and Liberty Streets, parallel with the Allegheny, were the principal thoroughfares, crossed by Marbury, Hay, Pitt, St. Clair, Irwin, Hand, Wayne and Washington Streets. Unfortunately these cross streets have lost their historic names, having been changed to prosaic numbers without any practical advantage, as the numbered avenues which cross them only create confusion. The names of these cross streets, before they were changed, were memorials of men who had been instrumental in laving the foundations of Pittsburgh, Marbury Street was named for Captain Joseph Marbury, at one time an officer in the garrison; St. Clair, for General Arthur St. Clair; Hand, after General Edward Hand; Irwin, after Col. John Irwin; Wavne, after General Anthony Wayne. The streets running parallel with the Monongahela were Water, Front, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Streets; Hammond Alley (now Diamond Street), Virgin Alley (now Oliver Avenue), Sixth Street, Strawberry Alley, Seventh Street; all of which were crossed by West Street, Short Street, Redoubt Alley, Ferry Street, Chancery Lane. Market Street, Wood Street, Smithfield Street, Cherry Alley and Grant Street. Wood Street took its name from Col. George Woods, of Bedford, who, under the authority of Tench Francis, attorney for the Penns, surveyed Pittsburgh in 1784. Smithfield Street took its name in honor of Devereux Smith, an Indian trader of prominence during the pioneer days; Grant Street from Major Grant, the leader of the unfortunate band of Scotch Highlanders. cut to pieces by the French and Indians in 1758, on the spot where the court house now stands.

The simple, informal methods of early borough legislation are well illustrated in the record that, "September 16, 1795, at a meeting of the Burgesses, etc., the High Constable was directed to call a town meeting on twentieth inst., at the Court House, at 6 o'clock. The corporation met accordingly, but were obliged to adjourn to Mr. Patrick Murphy's (on account of a play being acted at the Court House)." In May, 1795, Mathian

Ernest was elected Chief Burgess, Andrew McIntyre, Burgess, and Alexander Shaw, High Constable. George Adams was Town Clerk, and the assistants were J. G. Herron, William McMullan, John Patterson, and Joseph Aston.

On October 3rd of the same year, at a town meeting held, according to notice, at the Court House, "a motion was made by John Wilkins, Sr., and seconded: Will the borough permit the erection of a Court House in the center of the public square. After some consideration, the yeas and nays being called for, it was carried in the affirmative by a very good majority."

It did not cost much to carry on the little government. Citizens then were proud to serve it without any compensation whatever, and a document that reads rather queerly nowadays is a protest by Thomas Cromwell and Andrew Willock, Street Commissioners in 1807, against an intimation that they had profited in the way of compensation by their public service in that year. Their protest was clinched by an offer to serve without pay in the same capacity in 1808.

In March, 1800, John Park, Burgess, certified to the adoption of an ordinance regulating the market. This ordinance provided, among other things, that no person should sell or expose for sale, cider, beer, or spirituous liquors of any kind in the market, under a penalty of not more than five dollars and not less than two dollars.

The subjects of efficient fire and police service, always intimately connected, received public attention at an early date in the existence of the borough. At a town meeting held February 28th, 1801, it was resolved that

"Whereas, By a resolve of the inhabitants of the borough of Pittsburgh, dated the twenty-eighth of June, 1798, directing the Burgesses to divide the said borough into companies for working and keeping the fire engine in order, directing them also to nominate or appoint suitable officers of said companies to serve for one year, etc.

"And Whereas, The said Burgesses having divided the town into three districts or companies as follows, to wit: the inhabitants on the lower side of Market Street, as far as Fourth Street, to compose the first company; those on the upper side of Market Street, bounded by Fourth Street, to form the second company; the third to include all north of Fourth Street.

"It is therefore now agreed and ordained by the said inhabitants, that the following persons be officers of said fire companies until immediately after the election of Burgesses in the year 1802:

"First Company, President, A. Tannehill; Directors, T. Bracken,

J. B. Clow, Thomas Baird, David Davis, William Watson, William Semple, John Darragh.

"Second Company, President, Presley Neville; Directors, Jer'h Barker, Andrew McIntire, A. Kirkpatrick, John Johnston, O. Ormsby, Isaac Craig, James Irwin.

"Third Company, President, William Gray; Directors, William Earl, Robert Campbell, George Holdship, William Dunning, David Evans, John Irwin, James Kerwin.

"And it is further ordained that the Presidents and Directors of the said fire companies shall have the charge and management of the fire engine, and shall take upon themselves the direction of all matters necessary, as well as for the exercising of the said engine as for the order and regulation of the inhabitants at the time of fire. That the presidents shall, as soon as may be, procure a list of all the inhabitants residing within his ward or fire company, and it shall be the duty of the said inhabitants, when called out to exercise the fire engine, conformably to the regulations made and agreed upon by the officers of said companies, to attend precisely at the time and place appointed, and to continue and assist with the same until dismissed, under a penalty of 25 cents for every stated time for which they shall absent themselves, unless a good and sufficient excuse be offered, of which the officers of said company shall judge. There shall be one treasurer appointed by the officers of the several companies, to whom the president or either of the directors shall, at each stated meeting, make a return in writing of the names of the absentees, and it shall be the duty of the treasurer to provide a proper book, and charge the absentees respectively with their fines, and cause the same to be collected. The presidents shall have authority jointly to appropriate the said moneys to the use and advantage of the fire arrangements."

The first suggestion of anything like a police force is contained in a series of recommendations by the burgesses of 1802 to their successors in office. The retiring burgesses say that "Frequent complaints having been made on the subject of boys and other disorderly persons disturbing the public peace on Sundays, and by the indecent practice of bathing publicly in daylight—among the appropriations of money made for the City of Philadelphia there is a sum allotted for the payment of constables who faithfully discharge their duty by patroling the streets and checking such enormities. Is not the example of the corporation of Philadelphia in this case worthy of imitation?"

The gravity with which the honest burgesses assumed that a boy must of necessity be a disorderly person is the first twinkle of fun in the chronicles

of Pittsburgh. But no doubt they had boys themselves and knew whereof they spoke.

The example of wealthy Philadelphia in her liberal expenditure for a police force does not appear to have impressed the corporation favorably. The advisability of creating an efficient police force continued, however, to be discussed, and John Woods, Zadok Cramer, E. Denny, William Gazzam, George Robinson, Robert McCune, Hugh Scott, and a number of others, united in a petition for a town meeting, to be held September 12, 1803, "to take into consideration matters in relation to the police of the borough." The meeting was held, and was doubtless a lively gathering. From scraps of the old records it is apparent that the fathers had a way of speaking their minds with unequivocal emphasis. The date of the meeting, probably an adjourned one, was on the 26th, instead of the 12th, and its place the Court House. At that meeting a memorial was adopted, to be handed to the burgesses, setting forth the failure to enforce proper health laws, and adding:

The laws generally relating to the police appear to be defective; something is wanted to oblige the observance of them. What is everybody's business turns out most commonly to be nobody's. A team of horses galloping along the streets is scarcely noticed nowadays; or persons galloping a single horse, or horses running in the streets at large are fully as dangerous. These evils may perhaps be better provided against. The fines might be made to indemnify a person for his trouble of catching and taking the horse or horses to the High Constable, or in following up and prosecuting such cases. But, as has been said before, there are few people who will, as things stand, take the trouble to follow up and prosecute for these breaches of the laws. To correct and put a stop to the various evils and abuses which the inhabitants labor under, and to insure a rigid observance of the existing laws, as well as those which may hereafter be established, I would recommend that the High Constable be considered as the responsible police officer; that it shall be his duty to watch over the borough and enforce without favor or affection every established regulation, that a sufficient compensation be allowed him, either by way of a salary or that he be entitled to such portion of the fines in all cases as will indemnify him and enable him to devote his whole time to the police and the benefit of the town. That — be a committee to aid and assist the burgesses to revise and amend and bring together in one law every existing regulation relative to the police of the borough, and to digest and consider of every matter or thing touched upon in this presentment, or in any other which may be offered or suggested by any of the good citizens at this meeting, and that the said committee and burgesses be requested

to draw up in proper form a complete system of police, etc., embracing every of the said objects which in their judgment may be deemed of sufficient importance, and that they be requested to have the same ready to lay before a town meeting next to be convened, and further that the said committees and burgesses be requested to examine the ordinance relative to the management and exercise of the fire engine, and of its safe keeping, etc., and report thereon.

By an Act of March 5, 1804, the law erecting Pittsburgh into a borough was materially amended. The new Act provided that freeholders, householders, and others who had resided in the borough one year, and paid a borough tax, should be qualified to vote in the borough elections. The town was authorized to hold "goods and chattels, lands and tenements not exceeding \$5,000 in value." The inhabitants were given the right to hold two fairs in each year, each to continue two days, commencing on the first Thursday in June and the first Thursday in October. Any person refusing an office to which he was elected might be fined \$20. No person was to be punished for a breach of a by-law, until three weeks after the promulgation of the same by three weeks' notice, duly given. The tax rate could not exceed onehalf of one per cent. The Act provided for one burgess only, with a council, 13 in number. Five of the council constituted a court of appeal. It was further provided that "the Burgess and Town Council, or a majority of them, with the consent of a majority of the inhabitants, who, by writing under their hands and seals, shall approve the same, are given power to authorize any person or persons owning lots bounded by the Allegheny River, and Water Street on the Monongahela, to build wharves and erect buildings thereon opposite their respective lots."

The first local government under the new charter of 1804 consisted of Presley Neville, Burgess, and this Town Council: George Stevenson, Isaac Craig, Joseph Davis, E. Denny, Jeremiah Barker, John Darragh, William Davis, Will Hays, James Morrison, David Pride, John Scull, William Porter, and Thomas Bracken. Andrew Willock was High Constable. Council methods in those days were peculiar, as indicated by a compact recorded some years later, to the effect that "It is hereby agreed by the Council that no member shall divulge the proceedings of said Council." Members of the Council absent from attendance were liable to a fine of 25 cents for each occasion, and if a committee failed to report without good excuse at the appointed time, each member was liable to a fine of 25 cents. This amount in those days was the favorite limit for a fine or other public charge, the license for one dog being fixed at 25 cents, and the same being the earliest penalty for permitting a horse to roam at large in the thoroughfares of the town.

In 1804 Presley Neville suggested that "should the Council think proper to convene, I wish them to be informed that frequent complaints exist against certain houses in the borough kept by free blacks and others, where servants are harbored and countenanced in frolic and dissipation, greatly to the injury of their masters and employers, and to the great encouragement of vice and disorder. Probably an ordinance imposing a penalty on such as harbor servants (without the permission of their masters) at unreasonable hours, would be a useful measure." In the year following Mr. Neville had occasion to complain of the annoyance caused to passengers and others on the streets by stove-pipes poked out through the walls of dwellings. He pointed out also the "inconvenience caused by coal-smoke from smithies and blacksmith shops," and suggested that chimneys be increased in height. About this time Joseph Harris, for many years the worthy bell-ringer of the town, seems to have got into trouble by "ringing a public bell after sunset." for which he was fined \$10-about a quarter's salary. Mr. Harris was probably more careful thereafter. The ringing of the bell was a burning issue for some time between the county commissioners and the borough council, and the former brought the borough to terms by simply stopping the clang altogether, much to the annoyance of the residents, who asserted that the tones of the bell were necessary to indicate the hours of labor and refreshment, and of civil and religious proceedings.

The directory of Pittsburgh and its vicinity for the years 1812-13, published by Patterson & Hopkins, Booksellers, corner of Wood and Fourth Streets, as a part of the "Honest Man's Almanac," gave the following enumeration of the prominent citizens, the various lines of business, and the professions in the town at that time:

Allison, Geo., merchant, Market St. bet. 3rd and 4th.

Alges, Thos., merchant, Market St. bet. 2nd and 3rd.

Adams, James, com. merchant, cor. Market and the Diamond.

Anshutz, G. & C., com. merchants, Wood, bet. Water and Front.

Arthurs, Jas., wool carding factory, Strawberry Alley, bet. Grant and Smithfield.

Baldwin, Henry, lawyer, Front, bet. Market and Ferry.

Baird, Thos., merchant, 4th, bet. Market and Wood.

Beelen, Anthony, merchant, Front, bet. Market and Wood.

Bean, Isaac, agent for Harmony Society, Market, bet. 3rd and 4th.

Beltzhoover, Wendt & Co., glasshouse, Birmingham.

Brunot, F., doctor, 4th, bet. Market and Wood.

Bakewell, B., glasshouse, Scotch Hill, bank of Monongahela.

Brown, Barket & Butler, mfgs. of all kinds of iron ware, Liberty bet. Hay and Pitt. Collins, Thos., lawyer, n.e. cor. Diamond.

Chaplain, John H., lawyer, Ferry, bet. Market and Front.

Crossan, Jas. & Co., merchants, Wood, bet. 2nd and 3rd.

Cunliffe, Robt., merchant, Wood, bet. 2nd and 3rd.

Cochran, Robt., merchant, Wood, bet. 2nd and 3rd.

Cook, David, merchant, Smithfield, bet. 4th and Diamond Alley.

Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, printers and booksellers, Market, bet. Front and 2nd.

Cunningham & Co., merchants, Market and 3rd.

Cochran, Geo., merchant, Market, bet. 2nd and 3rd.

Cromwell, T. & J., com. merchants, cor. Wood and Water.

Cowan, C., com. merchant, Front, bet. Market and Liberty.

Commonwealth Office, n.w. cor. of Diamond.

Cochran & Dowling, wool carding factory, Hay's alley, bet. Liberty St. and Diamond.

Cowan, C., rolling and slitting steam mill, Penn, bet. St. Clair and Pitt.

Cowen, John, bow string factory, south side Diamond.

Douglas, Samuel, lawyer, Second, bet. Market and Ferry.

Denny, Ebenezer, merchant, cor. Market and 3rd.

Dawson, George, doctor, Market, bet. 3rd and 4th.

Darragh, John, magistrate, Fourth, bet. Smithfield and Wood.

Earl, William, merchant, bet. 4th and Diamond.

Evans, David, merchant, cor. 4th and Liberty.

Enochs, Thomas, magistrate, Penn, opp. 5th.

Eichbaum & Sons, wire factory, above the shipyard.

Evans, Geo. & Co., steam flour mill, Water, bet. Redoubt Alley and Short St.

Engles, S. & Co., printers, Wood, bet. 3rd and 4th.

Fulton, Henry, merchant, Diamond, south side and Wood, bet. Diamond Alley and Fifth St.

Foster, William B. & Co., steam mill and tilt hammers, Grants Hill.

Finch, William, Morocco factory, 4th bet. Jail Alley and Liberty.

Ferris, John, cabinet maker, Wood, bet. 3rd and 4th.

Fleeson, Rees E., merchant, Market, bet. 3rd and 4th.

Gibson, James, merchant, Market, bet. Diamond and Fifth.

Goutiere, Dr., Wood, bet. Front and Second.

Graham, William, innkeeper, Wood, cor. Water.

Gilland, James, magistrate, Diamond, west side.

Gorman & Co., brewery, above the shipyard.

Gore, A. F., suspender factory, Market, bet. 2nd and 3rd.

Gormly, William, Diamond St., west side.

Heazleton, William, merchant, Market, bet. Diamond and Fifth.

Hodge, John, merchant, Wood, bet. Front and Second.

Hamilton, Wm., bridle bit factory, Market, bet. Water and Front.

Hankart & Baker, tobacconists, etc., Fourth, bet. Market and Liberty.

Hollingsworth, stocking weaver, Strawberry Alley, bet. Liberty and Smithfield.

Hampshire, E., coppersmith and tinner, 4th, bet. Market and Ferry.

Irwin, John, merchant, cor. 4th and Market.

Irwin, Boyle, com. merchant, east side of Diamond.

Jelly, H. & J., merchants, cor. Market and Diamond, cotton factory and shipyard.

Kerr, John, innkeeper, Water, bet. Wood and Market.

Kerwin, James, cotton factory, 3rd, bet. Wood and Smithfield.

Kendrick, R., silver plater, Wood, bet. Front and 2nd.

Latshaw, C., merchant, corner of Wood and Second.

Lea, James, merchant, corner of Market and Second.

Logan, David & Co., com. merchants, Water, bet. Ferry and Short.

Lewis, Joel, doctor, corner of Market and Water.

Liggett, John, cabinet maker, Second, between Wood and Market.

Liggett, Thomas, cabinet maker, Second, between Wood and Market.

Lithgow, Walter, plane maker, Market, between Fifth and Virgin Alley.

Lieper & McKown, steel factory, above the shipyard.

Livery Stable, or Sutton & M'Nickle, Diamond Alley, between Wood and Smithfield.

Mountain, James, lawyer, Penn, between St. Clair and Pitt.

M'Donald, John, lawyer, Wood, corner of Third.

M'Kown, Gilbert, merchant, corner of Wood and Front.

Morrison, James, merchant, Wood, bet. 2nd and 3rd.

M'Clelland, George W., merchant, Wood, bet. 3rd and 4th.

Mazurie, Theodore, merchant, corner of Market and Front.

M'Candless, William, merchant, Market, between 3rd and 4th.

M'Knight, William, merchant, corner of Market and Fourth. Martin, James, merchant, Market, between Third and Fourth.

M'Clurg, Joseph, merchant, Diamond, west side.

M'Donald, John, merchant, corner of Market and Diamond.

Mowry, Peter, doctor, Diamond, west side.

M'Cullough, William, innkeeper, corner of Wood and Fourth.

Mowry, Philip, magistrate, 5th, between Wood and Market.

Morrow, William, innkeeper, corner of Wood and Fourth.

Mercury Office, Market, between Third and Fourth.

M'Clurg, Joseph and Alexander, foundry, corner of Fifth and Smith-field.

McCracken, ——, cotton carding, Strawberry Alley, between Liberty and Smithfield.

Miltenberger, George, coppersmith and tinner, Front, between Market and Ferry.

Neal, Reuben, button factory, Wood, between Water and Front.

Oliver, Joseph, bellows maker, Fourth, between Wood and Smithfield.

Osborne, John, merchant, Wood, between Diamond Alley and Fifth.

O'Hara, James, sen. com. merchant, Point brewery, Point glasshouse, opposite Point on Monongahela.

Office of Discount and Deposit, Second, between Market and Ferry.

Office of the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company, corner of Market and Third.

Patterson, James, merchant, between 3rd and 4th, coffee-mill maker, Wood, between 3rd and 4th, cotton factory, Fourth, between Wood and Smithfield.

Pennington, E., doctor, Third, between Market and Wood.

Patterson & Hopkins, booksellers, corner of Wood and Fourth.

Pittsburgh Gazette Office, Market, between Front and Second.

Patterson & Co., steam paper-mill, bank of Allegheny, above Pittsburgh.

Pedan, Edward, tobacconist, Fifth, between Market and Liberty.

Post-office, Front, between Market and Ferry.

Roberts, Samuel, President of the Courts of C. P. and Q. S., Penn, between Pitt and Hay.

Ross, James, lawyer, Fourth, on Grant's Hill.

Read, Thomas, merchant, Market, between Third and Fourth.

Ronaud, F., merchant, Market, between Third and Fourth.

Richardson, N., merchant, Market, between 3rd and 4th.

Robinson, George, glass-house, Water, between Grant and Smithfield.

Robinson, William, com. merchant, corner of Wood and Front.

Ramage, John, stocking weaver, Grant's Hill.

Smith, Samuel, merchant, corner of Wood and Front.

Semple, John, merchant, Wood, between Front and Second.

Skelton, J. P. & J. W., druggists, corner of Wood and 3rd.

Speer, Daniel, merchant, corner of Wood and Third.

Snowden, John M., printer and bookseller, Market, between Third and Fourth.

Sutton & M'Nickle, merchants, corner of Third and Market, and Water, between Wood and Market, and warehouse in Third, between Wood and Market.

Scully & Graham, merchants, Market, between Second and Third.

Simpson, Robert, grocer, Diamond, east side.

Stevenson, George, doctor, Penn, between Pitt and Hay.

Sturgeon, Jeremiah, innkeeper, corner of Diamond Alley and Wood. Stewart, George, innkeeper, corner of Wood and Fifth.

Stewart, Lazarus, magistrate, Fourth, between Market and Wood.

Steele, William, magistrate, Front, between Market and Ferry.

Stackhouse & Rodgers, steam engine makers, Second, between Smithfield and Grant.

Scott, William, plane maker, 4th, between Wood and Market.

Trevor & Encell, glasshouse, south side Monongahela, opposite Wood Street.

Vanderschot, doctor, Irwin's Alley, between Liberty and Penn.

Woods, John, lawyer, upper end of Penn Street.

Wilkins, William, lawyer, Water, between Wood and Smithfield.

Wilkins, Charles, lawyer, Wood, between Front and Second.

Wills, James, lawyer, northeast corner of Diamond.

Watson, Alexander, merchant, Market, between Front and Second.

Wylie, James, merchant, Market, between Second and Third.

Wrenshall & Boggs, merchants, corner of Market and Fourth.

Wills, John, merchant, between Diamond and Fifth.

Wickersham, Isaac, wire-weaver, Market, between Front and Second.

The matter of additional police and fire protection again came up in October, 1807, when a number of the inhabitants of the borough called attention to the necessity of providing another fire engine, furnishing two engine houses with suitable apparatus, and fixing a watch-box at each engine house; the keys of the engine house to be deposited in the watch-box under the care of two trusty watchmen, "whose business should be that of watchmen, as generally practiced, with the power and authority of constables during the watch hours, as soon as such power can be obtained." "We trust." added the memorialists, "that the propriety of obtaining such power for the watchmen to be invested with will appear evident from the consideration of the inconveniences and the dangers arising from the nocturnal improprieties now frequently practiced in disorderly houses, and which sometimes, and not infrequently, produce dangerous effects in our public streets." Among the signers of this memorial were E. Denny, William B. Irish, William Porter, Zadok Cramer, Thomas Magee, John Semple, Presley Neville, George Miltenberger and William Eichbaum. If the memorial produced any effect, so far as the engagement of watchmen, no record of the fact is accessible, and the treasurer's reports of contiguous years contain no mention of such disbursement, which would have been a material addition to the expenses of the borough. But it is certain that, about this time, the High Constable acted as a patrolman on Sundays, receiving 50 cents each day, or \$25.50 a year.

The government of the borough in 1815 was administered by John Darragh, Burgess, and a council composed of John M. Snowden, President, John Roseburgh, William Lecky, Thomas Perkins, Mahlon Rodgers, John W. Johnston, William Anderson, John Caldwell, James Brown, John Harmon, Mark Stackhouse, Richard Robinson, and George Cochran; Lazarus Stewart, Town Clerk and Treasurer; John B. Gray, High Constable; Richard Robinson, Assessor; John Carson, James McKenzie, and Daniel Hunter, Street Regulators; John W. Trimbly, Thomas McKee, and James Ewing, Measurers of Boards and Scantling; William Arthurs and Andrew Willock, Street and Road Commissioners; John Aitken, Collector of Taxes; William Barrett, Clerk of the Market; Matthew McEown, Weighmaster; Jacob C, Hoffer, Inspector of Tobacco and Gauger; Thomas Davis, Weighmaster at the Hay Scales. The justices of the peace were John Darragh, Thomas Enochs, Philip Gilland, Robert Graham, Philip Mowrey, William Steele (south side of Front Street, opposite the postoffice), and William Young.

The Pittsburgh city directory of 1815 declared that "the great increase of population is to be attributed to the late war with Great Britain, which converted a great portion of the capital of the seaboard into manufactures, much of which was concentrated in this place. The transportation of southern produce, during the war, through Pittsburgh, across the mountains, also contributed greatly to the population here." "The war between the United States and Great Britain," said another authority about ten years later, "was the great promoter of our prosperity; for, as long as foreign commerce was depressed, so long our manufactures succeeded. \* \* \* But the peace. alas, put an end to all these visions of wealth and harvests of prosperity. The channels of commerce were immediately opened, and the vast quantities of British goods that unsold had lain in the warehouses of the English manufacturers for two years before, now inundated the country and were thrown into market at any price. American fabrics immediately depreciated. The merchant who had made his purchases previously, at high prices, failed; the manufactories slowly declined, until at last many of them stood still. The distresses that followed this event can only be known by those who were concerned in them, or witnessed their dire effects, and it is only within a year or two that the people are beginning to recover from the difficulties of that at once fortunate and unfortunate period."

The reaction which at once followed the removal of that protecting ægis of war from the domestic manufactures of America had hardly set in, however, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania elevated the Borough of Pittsburgh to the position of a city, endowed with franchises and powers identical with Philadelphia's. The charter of March 18, 1816, incorporating "The Mayor, aldermen and citizens of Pittsburgh," provided that "the freemen of

the citizens of Pittsburgh, who have resided within the bounds of the city at least one year preceding the election, and within that time paid a borough or city tax, shall meet together on the first Tuesday in July next, and on the first Tuesday of January yearly thereafter, and elect by ballot fifteen persons qualified to serve as members of the House of Representatives of this Commonwealth to be members of the Common Council for the year in which they shall be elected, and also nine persons qualified to serve as Senators of this Commonwealth to be members of the Select Council of said city, who shall forthwith, after their election, divide themselves by lot into three classes, the seats of the first class to be vacated at the expiration of the first year, of the second class at the expiration of the second year, and of the third class at the expiration of the third year." Elections were to be held by the Recorder and Aldermen of the city, or any four of them.

The Councils were given power to pass necessary ordinances and appoint officers for the proper administration of the city, all ordinances to be void, however, unless published in at least one public newspaper of the city within 15 days after being passed, and recorded in the office of the County Recorder within 30 days. The doors of the council chambers were always to be open for the admission of peaceable and orderly persons desiring to be present at the discussion of by-laws, ordinances, rules and regulations for the good government of the city.

The Governor was directed to appoint a Recorder and 12 Aldermen for the city to hold their offices during good behavior, with all the authority of Justices of the Peace and Justices of Over and Terminer, and jail delivery. The Councils were required to meet and elect one of the Aldermen as Mayor of the city, whose duty, besides that of an Alderman of the city, would be to preside in the Mayor's court, when present, to promulgate the by-laws, rules and ordinances of the corporation, and specially to attend to the due execution and fulfillment of the same. The Mayor was to continue in his office until a successor should be duly elected and qualified, any vacancy to be filled within 10 days by the Councils. The Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, or any four of them, of whom the Mayor or Recorder should for the time being be one, were given full power to try and determine all forgeries, perjuries, assaults and batteries, riots, routs and unlawful assemblies, and all other offenses cognizable before any County Court of Ouarter Sessions of the Peace, and also all violations of ordinances, the court to be a court of record, to be held four times within each year, and to be known as "The Mayor's Court for the City of Pittsburgh." A writ of error might be obtained returnable in the western district of the Supreme Court. The Mayor and Recorder could issue a capias to the sheriff or other officers of the County for the apprehension of fugitive offenders. Jurors were to be selected for the Mayor's Court in the same manner as for the county courts. The Mayor

and Aldermen were endowed with the same jurisdiction in civil causes as Justices of the Peace, an appeal being reserved to the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County. The clerk of the Mayor's Court was to be appointed by the Governor, with the same fees and emoluments as the clerk of Quarter Sessions of Allegheny County. The Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen were authorized to receive the acknowledgment and probate of all written instruments, with the same validity as if the same were acknowledged before a Judge of the Supreme Court or of the Court of Common Pleas.

The Councils were authorized to license brokers, and to empower the Mayor to appoint and remove officers. No Alderman, nor any person holding an office of trust or profit under the laws of the Commonwealth or the ordinances of the Councils, the emoluments whereof were paid out of the treasury of the city, could serve as a member of the Select or Common Council. The Councils were required to cause to be published, once in every year, a just and true account of all moneys received, and of the disposition thereof, and to lay a copy before the General Assembly.

The reader will have noticed that the members of the Select Council were to have the same qualifications as Senators in the General Assembly. A Senator was required to be 25 years of age, four years a citizen and inhabitant of the State, and at least a year an inhabitant of the district. Members of the Common Council were to have the same qualifications as Representatives in the General Assembly. A Representative was required to be 21 years of age, a citizen and inhabitant of the State for three years, and at least one year an inhabitant of the locality electing him. These were very moderate requirements, as compared with other States. In New York, under the then existing constitution, a Senator was required to be a freeholder, chosen out of the body of freeholders, voting on real estate worth not less than 100 pounds above all charges, while the ordinary voter for any office was required to own real estate worth 20 pounds, or occupy a tenement of the yearly rental value of 40 shillings. This was not changed in New York until 1826, when the property qualification was removed as to white voters, but still retained as to the colored man. The stand taken by the Keystone State in behalf of liberal suffrage at an early period, when the prevalent principle was that the franchise should be attached to property, and that property owners should be represented, like a separate and superior class, in a freeholding State, or American House of Lords, had manifestly a decisive influence in shaping the progress of the Union toward manhood government and manhood supremacy. It is true that a retrogressive step was taken by inserting the word "white" in the constitution of 1838, but the leaven of Pennsylvania's influence had already done its work, and the rays of free suffrage, shed as from the center of the arch of the Union, illumined alike the Puritan settlements of Maine and the pioneer cabins of Michigan.



NEW ALLEGHENY COUNTY OFFICE BUILDING, PITTSBURGH

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The Councils organized under the first city charter July 5, 1816. The members of the Select Council were James Ross, James Irwin, William Lecky, John Roseburgh, Mark Stackhouse, Richard Geary, William Hays, Dr. George Stevenson and Samuel Douglas. Charles Wilkins, Jr., Recorder of the city, presided in the opening and administered the oath of office. James Ross was elected president, and James M. Riddle, clerk. The members of the first Common Council were William Wilkins, President, James R. Butler, John P. Skelton, Alexander Johnston, Jr., James S. Stevenson, James Brown, Paul Anderson, John W. Johnston, George Evans, John Caldwell, Thomas McKee, Daniel Hunter, John Carson, John W. Trembly. The Councils adjourned until July 9th, to elect a Mayor. The candidates were Ebenezer Denny, Robert Graham and John M. Snowden. Ebenezer Denny was elected, receiving 15 votes.

Among the powers conferred by the charter, under the head of "the powers and authorities now vested by law in the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia," was the right to establish a nightly watch. By the ordinance establishing the city government, in accord with the charter, the Mayor was given authority to appoint the High Constable and four City Constables, and each constable was required to give a bond in the sum of \$1,500 for the faithful performance of the duties of his office. The Mayor might remove any constable at will. The constables were enjoined to preserve the peace, and arrest all disorderly persons, especially on Sunday, and were also to attend court, the market, and the Councils, according to appointment. The fee for each day's attendance at the market was 75 cents.

It was further ordained that the Mayor should have power to appoint the Captain or Superintendent of the Watch to take care of the oil, wick and utensils of the city, and to render an account monthly to the Mayor of the quantities of every article received and remaining on hand; to take care that the watchmen perform their duties and to report forthwith to the Mayor all omissions or breaches of duty; and to aid the watchmen in preventing murders, robberies and other disorders. The Superintendent and watchmen were empowered to arrest all persons found disturbing the peace, or whom they should have cause to suspect of any unlawful or evil design, and drunken, disorderly or riotous persons, and to take them before the Mayor or some Alderman. The Superintendent was to make the rounds at least once a night to see if the watchmen performed their duties in their several stations. The watch-boxes were to be placed and kept as follows:

No. 1, at Charles Impson's, corner of Second and Grant Streets, and the circuit of the watchman occupying the same shall be bounded by Smithfield Street, Fourth Street, Luke's Run, and the Monongahela River. No. 2, at A. T. Gormley's, corner of Wood and Front Streets and the circuit of the watchman occupying the same shall be bounded by Market, Second, and Smithfield Streets, and the Monongahela River.

No. 3, shall be placed at John McComb's, corner of Wood and Third Streets, the circuit of the watchmen being bounded by Second, Market, Fourth and Smithfield Streets. No. 4, Widow Wilkins, corner of Wood Street and Diamond Alley, circuit bounded by Fourth, Market, Fifth and Smithfield Streets. No. 5, at the Presbyterian Church, corner of Wood Street and Virgin Alley, the circuit to be bounded by Fifth, Market, Liberty and Sixth Streets. No. 6, at the German Church, corner of Smithfield Street and Strawberry Alley, bounded by Sixth, Liberty and Grant Streets. No. 7, at William Anderson's, corner of Penn and Irwin's Alley, bounded by Liberty Street, Union Brewhouse Alley, Allegheny River and Washington Street. No. 8, at Nathaniel Irish's, corner of Liberty and St. Clair Streets, bounded by Union Brewhouse Alley, Liberty Street, Market, Diamond Alley, Pitt Street, Allegheny River. No. o, opposite Diamond Alley, on the north side of Liberty Street, bounded by Pitt Street, Allegheny River, Hay and Fourth Streets, and Diamond Alley. No. 10, at O'Hara's, corner of Short and Front Streets, (stone house lot), bounded by the Monongahela River, Short, Liberty and Hay Streets, and the Allegheny River. No. 11, at Robert Simpson's, corner of Front and Ferry Streets, bounded by Market Street, the Monongahela River, Short and Second Streets. No. 12, at James O'Hara's, Third and Ferry Streets, bounded by Market Street, Second, Short, Liberty and Front Streets.

The watchmen were required to attend at the watch-house at half-past nine o'clock every night in the year, and to be in their watch-boxes at 10 o'clock, and call the hour and state of the weather until four o'clock in the morning from the 21st of March till the 21st of September, and until six o'clock on the mornings in other months. In case of fire breaking out, or other great necessity, the watchmen were to immediately alarm the officers of the fire companies and the inhabitants in their respective rounds, and when this was done they were to repair to their respective stands, the better to discover any other fire that might happen, and to prevent burglaries and other crimes. They were not to confine themselves to their boxes "unless in very inclement weather." Any watchman failing in his duty was to be fined \$20 and dismissed; and the Superintendent of the Watch for similar misconduct was liable to a fine of \$40 and dismissal. A penalty of \$5 was provided for any person daring enough "to mock or mimic the watchmen in calling the hour or the state of the weather, or miscalling the hour or state of the weather after the watchman had called it."

About the time this ordinance went into effect, the young city began to feel the chilling result of depression in its manufactures and commerce. Taxes were hard to collect, and claims faithfully earned went unpaid for a long period. John B. Gray, formerly High Constable, was appointed captain of the watch. Some of the watch-boxes only had been erected when the citizens, dismayed at the financial prospect, resolved to economize.

On February 13, 1817, Thomas Cooper and John Leggett, a committee appointed to ascertain the facts, reported that the city then owed to the watchmen their dues for the November previous, amounting to \$100; December, \$260,33; and January, \$266.20. The Committee added that the men were poor, and in great need of the money, especially considering the inclement season of the year, and suggested a resolution, which eloquently depicts the financial straits of the city, to the effect that "a loan be obtained not only to pay the city watch for their services, but to pay their wages as they become due until money is placed in the hands of the treasurer for these and other purposes." Two days later a committee was appointed to consider the expediency of abolishing the watch; the watch was abolished from the first of April and the street commissioners were instructed to take charge of the boxes, and the captain of the watch was ordered to deliver the watch-coats and other property to the Mayor. It seems a pity that the city was not generous enough to bestow the coats on the poor men dismissed from its employ; but the Common Council in the November following—after prudently waiting through the summer until cold weather—authorized William Arthurs, Street Commissioner, "to sell at public auction for the best price that can be had, all the watch-coats belonging to the city, and pay over the proceeds thereof to the City Treasurer."

It will be of interest to note at this point how the city acquired its official "coat of arms" and seal, which it retains to this day (1930).

In the minutes of the first meeting of the common council of Pittsburgh, and also in the minutes of the select council, appears the following:

Friday, July 5, 1816. Resolved by the select and common councils of the city of Pittsburgh, \* \* \* that the recorder of the city be authorized to provide, as speedily as possible, a seal, with suitable devices, for the use of the city.

No record is found indicating that any suggestions were made as to a design, or that a committee was appointed to confer on the question.

At that time, there stood at Liberty and Smithfield Streets the establishment of one George Harris, silversmith and engraver as well as a maker of swords. To him, evidently, was entrusted the work of providing a seal; for in minutes of the council under date of July 20, 1816, there is a resolution that the mayor be directed to draw a warrant in favor of

George Harris in the amount of \$35 in payment for a seal provided by him. Nothing is said in the record concerning a design which Harris was to follow in his work; and so far as is known, no question as to the meaning of the design furnished by him was raised until many years later, when George W. Layng was authorized to prepare and publish a "Digest of City Ordinances."

When this work was undertaken there was on the bench of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, the Honorable Charles Shaler, who, evidently, was questioned relative to the design on the seal. Mr. Shaler addressed a letter to Mr. Layng, dating it "May 1848," which reads as follows:

"Dear Sir: I will cheerfully give my reminiscences about our city seal. According to my recollections, Charles Williams, who was our first city recorder, was appointed to designate a suitable design for the seal. In this he was aided by the taste and intelligence of the late Morgan Neville, who possessed a turn for such things. There was at that time, professionally residing here, a Mr. Jones, quite prominent as a theatrical performer on the western stage, and a gentleman possessed of some qualifications as an artist and some pretensions to skill in heraldry.

"After some discussion, in which, I believe, everybody's taste was consulted, the armorial bearings of the Chatham family was made the basis of the device of our city seal (Fort Pitt having been originally named for the Earl of Chatham), and by the advice of Mr. Jones, the crest of the Chatham arms was dispensed with and the castellated wall adopted in its stead, Mr. Jones conceiving that it was the proper device to designate a city; so that the device in the seal, in heraldic language, would read, 'City of Pitt.'

"It is not impossible that other alterations were made to suit Mr. Jones' fancy, which you will readily detect by comparing the shield with that on the Chatham arms in any book of heraldic devices. I think we were indebted to an old encyclopædia at the time for our knowledge of the armorial bearings of the Pitt family. It appears to me that the supporters were dispensed with as not being convenient appendages."

To explain the heraldic meaning of medieval arms is not the purpose here. A satisfactory explanation is to be found in the Reference Department of Carnegie Library, where, also, may be seen books bearing on heraldry, one picturing the Chatham arms.

It is explained in Mr. Shaler's letter why the supporters shown on the Chatham arms were dispensed with, and why a castellated wall was substituted for the stork shown on the arms.

On the Chatham arms are three circles representing bezants, or coins of Byzantium or Constantinople and presumably perpetuating the heroism of some member of the family during the crusades. On the seal of Pittsburgh these circles enclose birds of some kind, the meaning being unknown.

At the bottom of the Chatham arms was a scroll bearing a motto: "Benigno numine," or "With divine providence." Why it should have been omitted from the seal of Pittsburgh is a mystery, for certainly the city has been greatly blessed and prospered since its foundation.

Apparently the matter was again forgotten, as the next reference to the subject is found in an ordinance approved March 15, 1809:

"No. 318. An ordinance establishing flags and colors for the city of Pittsburgh.

"Whereas, the city of Pittsburgh has no authorized flag or ensign, and

"Whereas, it is fitting that such should be established in accordance with the ancient custom of independent municipalities; therefore,

"Section I. Be it ordained and enacted \* \* \* that the following shall be the forms, devices, and colors of the civic flag, the city ensign, and the pennant of the city of Pittsburgh; that the colors in the several forms shall be black and gold of the hues or tints as expressed upon the sample and the exact copy of which is hereby directed to be placed on file in the office of the department of public safety and displayed in public in the city hall, marked 'Approved colors for the city flags of Pittsburgh.'

"Section II. The civic flag or standard of the city shall be as follows: The material shall be American-made bunting or silk of the colors or hues above designated, 10 feet in length and 6 feet in width, or in proportion thereto. The same shall be parted vertically in three equal parts. of which the first and third shall be black and the second or middle pale gold. Upon the latter shall be emblazoned the city armor, as borne upon the city seal, and the same shall be blazoned upon the middle and occupy one-third of the surface thereof."

On the Chatham arms the colors were black, gold (coins), silver, and blue. The livery worn by retainers of the Earl of Chatham was white and blue. No reason is known for selecting black and gold for Pittsburgh in preference to other colors.

The foresight and progressiveness of the men of that day were marked

by the successful enterprise of connecting Pittsburgh, Birmingham and Allegheny by bridges, that intercourse between the towns and the surrounding country might be facilitated. Charters for the erection of these bridges were granted by the State in 1810, but were allowed to lapse. New charters were granted in the winter of 1816, and books were opened in April for subscriptions to the stock for erecting the bridges, and the next month, the necessary amount having been subscribed, the letting of the contracts was soon announced.

The Commissioners named for these bridges were among the first citizens of the town; those for the Monongahela bridge were, for Pittsburgh: William Wilkins, James Ross, Thomas Baird, John Thaw, David Pride, Philip Gilland, O. Ormsby, C. Latshaw, James Brison, S. Douglass, Jacob Beltzhoover. Those for the Allegheny bridge were, for Pittsburgh: William Robinson, Jr., James O'Hara, Thomas Cromwell, William Hays, George Shiras, William Anderson, James Adams; for Allegheny: Robert Campbell, Hugh Davis; for Harmony, Abraham Ziegler; for Butler: John Gilmore and John Potts; for Beaver: Robert Morris and Thomas Henry.

The construction of the two bridges was similar. The material used was wood and iron, the ranges of wooden arches resting on stone piers; the sections of the arches were bolted together with removable iron bolts to facilitate repairs, and the flooring was suspended from the arches by iron bars an inch square.

The Monongahela bridge was first opened for passengers at the end of the year 1818, and the Allegheny bridge about two years later. The Monongahela bridge cost \$102,000, and the Allegheny bridge \$80,000.

A list of the manufactories of Pittsburgh, the number of hands employed, and the output of each was ordered by the City Councils, in 1817. This enumeration fairly summarizes the industrial conditions in the first year under the city charter:

		Hands	Amount of
Business	No.	Employed	Product
Auger maker	1	6	\$ 3,500
Bellows maker	1	3	10,000
Blacksmiths	18	74	75,100
Brewers	3	17	72,000
Brush makers	3	7	8,000
Button maker	I	6	6,250
Cotton spinners	2	36	25,518
Copper and tinsmiths	I.I	100	200,000
Cabinet makers	7	43	40,000
Currier (	1	4	12,000
Cutlers	2	6	2,000
Iron foundries	4	87	180,000
Gunsmiths and bit makers	3	14	13,800

		Hands	Amount of	
Business	No.	Employed	Product	
Flint glass factories	2	. 82	\$110,000	
Green glass factories	3	92	130,000	
Hardware merchants	2	17	18,000	
Hatters	7	49	44,640	
Locksmith	I	7	12,000	
Linen manufactory	I	20	25,000	
Nail manufactories	7	47	174,716	
Paper maker	I	40	23,000	
Pattern maker	I	2	1,500	
Plane makers	3	6	57,600	
Potter fine ware	I	5	8,000	
Rope maker	I	8	15,000	
Spinning machine maker	1	6	6,000	
Spanish brown manufactory	I	2	6,720	
Silver plater	I	40	20,000	
Steam engine makers	2	70	125,000	
Steam grist mills	2	10	50,000	
Saddlers	6	60	86,000	
Silversmiths, etc	5	17	12,000	
Shoe and boot makers	14	109	120,000	
Tanners	7	47	58,860	
Tallow candlers	4	7	32,600	
Tobacconists	4	23	21,000	
Wagon makers	5	21	28,500	
Weavers	2	9	14,562	
Windsor chair makers	3	23	42,600	
Woolen manufactories	2	30	17,000	
Wire drawer	I	12	6,000	
White lead factory	I	6	40,000	
Total manufactories in above			48	
Total Hands Employed			1,280	
Total Value of Products		\$1,896,3	366	

In addition the committee made a return of the following establishments in which no details of hands and products were furnished by the managers:

Chair makers	3	Printers 6
Currier	I	Plane maker 1
Cabinet makers	2	Blacksmiths 21
Cotton carder	I	Shoemakers 23
Comb maker	1	Saddlers 2
Coach maker	I	Silk dyer 1
Copper plate printers	2	Stone cutters 6
Book binders	3	Tallow candlers 3
Hatters	4	Tanners 5
Gilder	I	Weavers 15
Machine makers	2	Wire worker 1
Nailers	5	Coffee mill maker 1

These latter III manufactories employed 357 hands, making a total of 259 establishments employing 1,637 hands, with an annual product of \$2,266,366.

There were also shipyards, a wool carding machine, a screw and auger manufacturer, and a bedstead and spring manufacturer which were not noted in the above list.

In 1827, William Griffiths had an ordinance passed giving him "the exclusive privilege of lighting the city of Pittsburgh with gas." The city agreed to "pay for every public lamp duly and regularly lighted, commencing from the time the mayor should certify to council that 20 lamps were ready to be lighted, the sum of \$5 per lamp." Mr. Griffiths obligated himself to keep such lights lighted from one-half hour after sunset until a half hour after sunrise each day, and to keep such lamps in proper condition.

The contract was to continue for 21 years, at the end of which time the city, at its option, upon certain specified conditions, could take the plant into its own possession. In case the city failed to accept the plant at that time the contract was to continue 10 years, at which time a valuation was to be given the plant and the property was to pass to the ownership of the city. Citizens objected to the contract because of two reasons—its exclusiveness, and the failure to give them the opportunity to invest in the stock of the concern.

Under pressure upon both Griffiths and Councils, Mr. Griffiths consented to transfer his contract to a stock company composed of Benjamin Bakewell, J. S. Craft, Harmar Denny, Henry Holdship, Benjamin Page and others, who incorporated as the Pittsburgh Gaslight and Coke Company, with a capital of \$20,000 divided into shares of \$100 each. Early in 1828 bids were asked for construction of plant and for pipe for extension of the lines. Rumors of scandals in methods of subscription in the stock compelled council to alter these by the passage of another ordinance which was much worse, as it enabled the members of the Select Council to subscribe for the entire issue within 15 minutes, at par, although anxious citizens claimed that the stock was immediately worth much more. Indignation among taxpayers compelled the passage of a third ordinance which gave all chances to bid for the stock and it was speedily bought by bidders. However, nothing was accomplished and it was not until 1829 that Neville B. Craig and others organized the Pittsburgh Gas Company and were awarded the contract of \$4 per lamp.

Municipal scandals, either in rumor or in practice, did not fret or frighten citizens seriously, however, in the first decade of municipal development and progress. In 1828 the mayor's salary was \$200; the commissioners were as liberally remunerated, while the treasurer was on the payroll at

\$150 per annum. An ordinance enacted that year compelled all owners at houses renting from \$50 to \$100 per year to keep one leather fire bucket, while higher rents should compel owners to maintain two such buckets, in order to increase personal fire efficiency. Alleghenytown became a borough in May, 1828, with John Irwin its first burgess, he defeating William Robinson by 15 votes in a total of 127 cast at the first election.

River water was first furnished to Pittsburgh residents and to all business houses in September, 1828. One of the local papers summarized conditions joyously in the following manner: "Pittsburgh goes on prosperously. The happy union of the two arms of the Arms of the American system will make her great—her location and the location of the Pennsylvania canal. It is stated that 247 houses are now building in this city, chiefly of brick. Alleghenytown, a suburb, grows rapidly, 61 houses having been built within a year. If any place in the United States is obligated to support the American system without combination or compromise or any sort of looking one way and rowing another, it is Pittsburgh. She has prospered by it, and will not make any bargain about it."

It was a premature announcement, that of the opening of the water works in September, 1828, because pipelayers failed to finish until December, when George Evans was elected superintendent of the new city works.

Responsive to a municipal memorial signed by many citizens, the Legislature of 1829 passed an act authorizing the City Council to increase the dimensions of the city from two to four wards, thus changing the names from East and West Wards to First, Second, Third and Fourth Wards. This act also permitted councils to fix the necessary places for holding elections the supplementary act of 1833 made obligatory. Pittsburgh had 700 voters when the first two wards were established, and under the new division had 1,800 voters.

There were marked advances in the city's municipal and industrial development in the early decades of the nineteenth century, despite the natural embargoes upon profitable sale of domestic products in the larger eastern markets. Meanwhile efforts to remedy transportation deficiencies were made without ceasing. Local enterprise resorted to every indicated and suggested means that would hasten State or private interest in the construction of an intra-State canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and from this city to a point on Lake Erie either within or without the State, as the case might be. It was not until 1826 that the Pennsylvania Legislature passed the bill authorizing the preliminary and other work on the Pennsylvania canal to connect the Delaware and Ohio Rivers, at an estimated cost of \$183,092. The Portage railroad, projected for the transportation of the canal boats from the River Juniata to the River Conemaugh and also the

Allegheny River, was begun and completed in time to get into coöperation with the canal. The canal and railroad were completed and in operation from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, April 16, 1834.

The Portage railroad was one of the marvels of engineering of the first half of the nineteenth century not only of the United States but of the world. It comprised eleven levels or grade lines and ten incline planes, five on each side of the mountains, and in extent from Johnstown to Hollidaysburg was 36.69 miles. From Johnstown to the summit of the Alleghenies the grade was 1,171.38 feet in a distance of 26.59 miles; the descent to Hollidaysburg 1,398.71 feet in 10.10 miles. Engines of 35 horse-power made in Pittsburgh hauled four cars at a time up the planes. The rails used were made in England at a cost of \$40.51 per ton. The State paid \$1,634,557.69 for the construction of this road, which was displaced 20 years later when the Pennsylvania railroad was built. In its very first year the Portage road carried 50,000 tons of freight and 20,000 passengers. The time taken in a journey to Philadelphia from Pittsburgh was 3 days and 19 hours through the canal, over the Portage and Columbia railroads, and the fare was only \$12.

The Pennsylvania canal came down the north bank of the Allegheny River, crossing that stream into Pittsburgh by means of an aqueduct, or as it was termed, a "basin," to the foot of Eleventh Street and Penn Avenue, the "final point of distribution and collection for freight and passengers." In this vicinity were the offices and vast warehouses of the various transportation and forwarding companies that soon organized to take care of the great freight interests that were multiplying monthly in the Ohio Valley. These warehouses were usually in the "slips" leading from the "basin." The canal was driven through the hill to the Monongahela River at a point about that now in use by the Panhandle tunnel.

Pittsburgh thus for the first time came into a relation with the great Eastern market that gave her the influence and independence of which her manufacturers had dreamed and toiled for a third of a century. The building of railroads in the East stirred local desire to reach a real parity with markets and competition in production, and as the nuclei of the Pennsylvania railroad began to come this way this desire increased and very material encouragement was given all projects tending towards the earliest practicable construction of a railroad from tidewater to the Ohio River.

Assessments for county purposes in 1833 had increased relatively very little, as will be seen by the several impositions: East Ward, \$2,847.14; West Ward, \$2,701.85; North Ward, \$3,835.57; South Ward, \$4,697.33; total, \$14,081.89; Allegheny Borough, \$3,111.01; Northern Liberties, \$1,599.78; Birmingham, \$315.84. The act for imprisonment for debt was repealed where the amount was less than \$534, exclusive of costs, debt or judgment. Lot-

teries were also abolished and prohibited. In sinking a well for salt water in 1833 the drillers encountered a vein of coal 10 inches thick of 133 feet depth; another vein at 580 feet, and at 602 feet a 4-inch vein. Natural gas was also found as an accompaniment to each vein of coal in sufficient quantities "to light an establishment larger than the Exchange Hotel," Pittsburgh's largest hostelry in that day. Gen. William Robinson, Jr., was sent to Harrisburg in this year to negotiate for the charter of the Exchange Bank. City appropriations in 1834 were: For the Eagle Engine and Hose Company, \$200; the Allegheny Engine Company, \$150; the Neptune Company, \$215; the Vigilant, \$700; the first Pittsburgh Hose Company, \$200; the Union Hose Company, \$150.

The city felt more and more the need of an organized police force. The riotous spirit which prevailed throughout the country in the summer of 1835 was not without its influence in Pittsburgh, as the following message from the Mayor, dated August 19, 1835, indicates:

TO THE SELECT AND COMMON COUNCILS OF THE CITY.

Gentlemen:—In consequence of the rumours in circulation, and the apprehensions expressed by a number of respectable citizens that disturbances of a riotous nature are likely to take place in our city, I feel it my duty to call your attention to the important subject, that you may take such order thereon as you, in your wisdom, think the exigency requires.

In a former communication I expressed a wish that a Joint Committee of Councils should be appointed, to be styled the 'Police Committee,' whose duty it should be to confer with the Mayor on all subjects thereto belonging, and assist him in the selection of trusty and suitable men. Would it not be well, in addition to the regular nightly guard, for the Councils to recommend to the citizens of the different wards to hold meetings and organize themselves, to be prepared to act with the authorities in case of necessity?

Respectfully,

Samuel Pettigrew, Mayor of Pittsburgh.

This communication was accompanied by a petition from sundry citizens on the same subject, and the following resolutions were promptly adopted:

Resolved, That a Joint Committee of one from the Select and two from the Common Council be appointed, whose duty it shall be to consult with the Mayor on the proper measures to be adopted to sustain the laws and maintain the public peace, and assist him in the execution of the various duties imposed by an ordinance on the third of January, 1831.

Resolved, That the Mayor be authorized to issue a proclamation, assuring the public that prompt measures will be instituted to prevent all unlawful assemblages, and bring all those engaged in riotous conduct to certain punishment, and, also, to recommend to the citizens of the several wards to hold meetings to organize themselves, and be prepared to act with the authorities in case of necessity, and at the same time request parents, guardians and masters to keep those under their charge within doors after the hour of 9 o'clock P.M.

Messrs. Scott, of the Select, and Anshutz and Irwin, of the Common Council, were appointed a Police Committee.

The people promptly responded to the call of the authorities. "large and respectable" meeting of part of the East and North Wards of the City of Pittsburgh, it was resolved that, "As it is manifest that the spirit of disorder and of disregard for the laws of the land, which has of late agitated and disgraced many parts of the United States, has reached our hitherto peaceful city, therefore in order to aid the civil authorities in sustaining the supremacy of the laws, we pledge ourselves to each other and to the constituted authorities of the city to rally to their support at the first call. for the maintenance of peace and order, and for bringing to justice all and any person who may be in any wise engaged in violating the peace and order of the city; and in order that we may act in concert and with effect, we recommend that our fellow citizens residing north and east of Irwin and Sixth Street assemble, at the first alarm, or notice of danger, at the Neptune Engine House, and proceed from thence to any part of the city where their services may be required." Thomas Fairman was appointed Chief Marshal, and Major Wade, John Irwin, John Turbett, William Lehmer, John Arthurs, and William Mackey, Assistant Marshals, all to obey the instructions of the Mayor.

This exhibition of energy quelled any spirit of lawlessness that existed. At the same time the public mind became aroused to the necessity of adequate police protection. A petition for the putting up of a proper building for the use of the city officers, including a watch-house, was referred to a special committee on the last day of the same month.

Samuel Pettigrew was the last Mayor elected by the Councils, and the first elected by the people. He served from 1832 to 1835, both years inclusive, and the law providing for popular election took effect in 1834.

On March 26, 1836, an ordinance was adopted to the effect that "For the purpose of establishing a system of police really suited to secure our citizens in their persons and property, one Captain of the Watch, two Lieutenants of the Watch, and sixteen watchmen shall be appointed from amongst those inhabitants entitled to vote at the municipal elections." The

Captain was required to repair to the watch-house at 9 P.M. each day, there to remain until the dismissal of the watch, and the prisoners, unless called out by urgent necessity. The Captain was invested with all the duties and powers of the High Constable, except that of registering carriages, carts and drays, and directed to report any negligent watchman to the Mayor for dismissal. The Lieutenants were invested with the authority of city constables, and were required to report at 9 o'clock, and every two hours through the night, at the watch-house. The senior Lieutenants, designated as such by the Mayor, took the place of the Captain in the absence of the latter. The Lieutenants acted as roundsmen, and were responsible for proper vigilance on the part of the watchmen. The watchmen were invested with the authority of city constables, to report at Q P.M. at the watch-house, and at the Mayor's office, with the Captain and Lieutenants, whenever required. They were to be persons of reputable standing. After roll-call at the station they were to go on their beats, remaining thereon until half-past 4 A.M., from the 21st of March until the 21st of September, and until 6 A.M. the rest of the year. They were to call the hour and state of the weather, light the public lamps, "after the introduction of gas," and give the alarm in case of fire. A joint standing Police Committee of one from the Select, and two from the Common Council, was appointed to select a place for a watchhouse, adopt regulations for the government of the watch, and divide the city into districts. In the absence of the committee, or inability to attend on notice of the Mayor, the latter had full authority to amend or add to police regulations.

The Captains, Lieutenants, and watchmen were appointed by the Mayor and the Police Committee, and subject to removal by them; the Captain was required to give a bond of \$1,500; each Lieutenant, \$1,000, and each watchman, \$500. For misconduct in an officer the penalty was from \$5 to \$50, in a watchman from \$1 to \$10, "at the discretion of the Mayor, on a fair hearing of the case." The officers and watchmen were prohibited from claiming fees or costs, or accepting any gratuity; all fees and costs "to be deposited in a suitable bank and, under the direction of the Mayor and Committee, divided among the watchmen who had distinguished themselves by good conduct." The salary of the Captain was fixed at \$30, the Lieutenants \$25, and the watchmen \$20 per month. The Mayor or Joint Committee might increase the force in an emergency.

The watch in 1836 consisted of the Captain of the Watch, Conrad Upperman; Lieutenants David Newell and Hugh Bateman; Watchmen, G. W. Abbott, Henry Kennedy, John Nicholson, Richard Keenan, Alex Gray, Daniel Kennedy, J. Ferguson, Thomas McMahon, Clarke Jewell, John Wallace, William Wirtz, John Clemmer, Robert Hague, Robert Potts, Leo Snyder, J. Fox. The cost of the City Watch for 1836 was \$4,000.

The salary of the Mayor was raised in the same year to \$800; of the High Constable to \$250; Treasurer \$700; Assessor \$100. The four assistant constables are credited with \$200 each, a compensation which justified them in giving a large part of their time to the service of the city, so that they acted, to most intents and purposes, as a day police.

In the year 1837 the same officers were in command of the watch, and the watchmen were George W. Abbott, Henry Kennedy, Thomas McClelland, Richard Keenan, Alexander Gray, Joseph Whitmore, J. Ferguson, Joe Lusbett, Clarke Jewell, John Wallace, John Clemmer, John McMullin, Robert Potts, Leo Snyder, J. Fox.

In the county jail at that time were confined 80 prisoners, of whom 32 were accused of larceny, the most serious accusations being robbery and forgery. The jailer, Absalom Morris, adds to his report the brief and significant comment that "It is generally believed that eight-tenths of the prisoners who are committed to jail commenced their career of crime with intemperance." The poorhouse contained from 40 to 50 paupers, in addition to about 120 outdoor poor. The Harris directory of that year states that "In addition to the poor tax collected in December last, when the severity of the winter began to press upon certain classes, our citizens very promptly raised about \$2,500, and appointed a committee judiciously to distribute it in small sums, to carry poor and helpless families through the hard winter. More than \$10,000 annually are contributed by our citizens, in addition to the poor tax, for the support of the poor and unfortunate."

Allegheny, Birmingham, Northern Liberties and the lesser suburbs kept pace with the progress of the city, and on the 14th of April, 1828, Allegheny and Birmingham were incorporated into boroughs, and the following year, on the 23rd of April, Northern Liberties became a borough.

Following this, an Act for dividing the city into four wards "for general election purposes" was passed by the Legislature on the fourth of December, 1829. The previous unequal divisions had caused "great inconvenience in conducting the general elections of the city," and the Act provided, in the first section: That "So much of the said city lying north of the center of Liberty Street shall be one ward, to be called the North ward; and so much of said city as is included between the center of Liberty and Market Streets and the River Monongahela shall be one ward, to be called the West ward; and so much of said city as is included in the following boundaries beginning at the foot of Market on the Monongahela, thence up the center of Market Street to Fifth Street, thence along the center of Fifth Street to Grant, thence down the center of Grant to Fourth Street and the line of Farmers' and Mechanics' turnpike road to the city line, and thence to the river aforesaid and down the same to the place of beginning, shall be called the South ward; and so much of the said city as lies east of the center

of Liberty Street and Fifth Street and the boundaries of the South ward above named, shall be one ward, called the East ward. \* \* \* " Section two of this Act provided for election inspectors for each of the wards; section three, for the selection of judges of elections, clerks, etc., by the inspectors; section four, for the election of constables; section five, for fixing by Select and Common Council a place for holding elections.

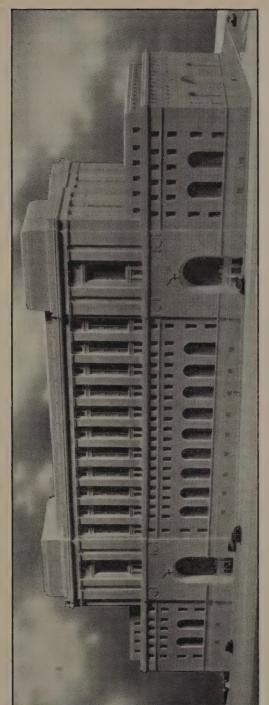
The exhaustively detailed and interesting history of the police and fire departments of Pittsburgh prepared and published by Henry Mann in 1880 shows that the Pittsburgh Volunteers did noble service in the early days, fighting fire with the same indomitable courage and fidelity that many a volunteer fireman afterwards displayed on the field of battle for the Union. A glance over the list of the volunteer firemen of Pittsburgh shows the companies to have been composed of leading members of the community whose only fault, if it were a fault, was their almost furious zeal and ambition to win distinction and earn the gratitude of their fellow-citizens. With the primitive companies, belonging to the era when Pittsburgh's waterworks consisted of three pumps, and permission was accorded to the county officials to construct a fourth at their own expense, this work has nothing to do. "No doubt," says Mr. Mann, "they made their marks on everything but a payroll and deserved well of their country." The first organized company of which actual data can be obtained is the Eagle Fire Engine and Hose Company. This was organized in 1794, while Pittsburgh was yet a village in which horse ponds occupied the sites of some of our greatest business establishments. The engine was a 71/2-inch double-chamber, built in Philadelphia, from whence it was sent to Pittsburgh in wagons. When the load arrived in September, 1794, it was set up by John Johnson, afterwards postmaster. Mr. Johnson was the first engineer of the company, and Jeremiah Barker and Robert Magee, assistant engineers. The engine itself was very primitive in construction. There was no arrangement for plug or hose coupling for the reason that both articles were as yet unknown. The water was poured into the engine from buckets and pumped up by main strength. It was not a fascinating exercise to work the hand engines of those days. The body of the machine was devoid of ornamental or brass work, and the box was painted green, that being adopted as the color of the company. The company for the first 16 years of its existence was managed by elderly men, the first citizens of the village, and none but residents in good standing. sober age, and unquestionable respectability were admitted to membership.

One of the early Eagle captains was a Quaker, and on one occasion at a fire he saw an unauthorized person place his hand upon the engine. Addressing the intruder, he said: "Friend, thee had better remove thy hand." Receiving an offensive reply, the Quaker fireman added, "By ———— I shall smite thee, then." He suited the action to the word and floored the unwelcome

volunteer. This incident "caused much scandal at the time, and was long the subject of caustic comment in the Dorcas societies and sewing circles of that untutored age. It would scarcely be deemed so sensational in modern times, even with a Quaker as the hero." The Eagle engine had its home in a small building near the corner of First Street and Chancery Lane, between Market and Ferry Streets. It was always kept locked, Messrs. Barker, Johnson and Magee, who lived near at hand, each having keys. There was but little accommodation for meetings at the engine-house, and the members generally assembled in the house of the engineer or assistant engineer to transact business. These meetings in the early days were as decorous as a modern Presbytery.

In 1811 a second "epoch" in the company's history began, the younger element having gradually crept in and assumed control of affairs, as the older men "had to some extent lost interest and perhaps gained rheumatism in the fire service." The company was now reorganized on a more active and vigorous basis. The first engineer to take charge under the new régime was William Eichbaum, who continued to act in that capacity until 1832, when he was elected First Chief Engineer of the Fire Department on its organization. In 1815 the first minute-book of the company was purchased, and although the secretary neglected to enter a roster of the members the number must have been very large judging from the number of absentees fined after each fire. The fines were not excessive, being only 121/2 cents for each offense, but as the son of one of the original members remarked in giving these particulars: "A levy in those days was bigger than a dollar is to-day." A motion is recorded in the minutes of October 4, 1815, to procure 100 badges of white ribbon with the words "Eagle Fire Company" on them, to be sold to such members as were not already provided at 25 cents each. In another place it is decided to print 200 copies of the constitution for the use of the members. The entries suggest the membership, which included such names as Alexander McClurg, Thomas Short and Isaac Harris; Ross Wilkins, W. Snowden, and W. W. Fetterman. The officers of the company in 1816 were: Captain, James R. Butler, Captain of the old Pittsburg Blues, a soldier of 1812; Lieutenant, Dennis S. Scully, whose descendants are well known in business and banking circles; President, Anthony Ernest; Secretary, Harmar Denny; Engineer, William Eichbaum, afterwards City Treasurer; George Boggs, and many others of local prominence.

In the company organization, as we learn from Mr. Mann's excellent history, the most important duty devolved upon the Bucket Committee. Every citizen was required to keep two or three heavy leather buckets with his name painted on them, and in case of fire these were all brought on the ground. Two lines of men and women were formed to the water supply to



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pass the full buckets to and the empty ones from the engine. As the buckets got lost, mislaid or destroyed, the Committee had hard work to keep the supply up to the standard. When the fire was extinguished all the buckets were left on the ground till next day. Then, as many of the inscriptions were obliterated, there was some stealing of buckets and consequent fights. Certain folks, without a due regard for the rights of their neighbors, picked out the best buckets, just as in modern times some people pick out the best hats, or umbrellas, at the conclusion of a party. The Bucket Committee, to put a stop to this, decided to deliver all buckets to their respective owners.

In 1820 the old badge was discarded and a new one of white canvas with a black eagle painted on it, was substituted and worn on the caps. The years 1823-4 appear to have been unlucky for the Eagle, as the minutes contain depressing allusions to "our former high standard," and present "lack of efficiency"; but about 1825 things began to look brighter, and the talk of a new engine resulted in the purchase of one in 1827. City Councils subscribed \$70 of the money, the members of the company paid an assessment of 12½ cents a month toward the purchase for over a year and half, and the banks supplied the remainder of the \$900 necessary. In 1832, when the Pittsburgh Fire Department was organized, the separate history of the Eagle was merged into that of the Department. The Eagle men had the honor of being the first and last Chief Engineers of the Volunteer Fire Department, William Eichbaum and John H. Hare, taken from the Eagle rolls.

Allusion has been made to fights between the volunteer fire companies, which reached their height about 1840. So bitter was partisan feeling that men who "on ordinary occasions were regarded as pillars of the church and ornaments to society," were betrayed into taking a hand with the boys against a rival engine company. Heroic measures were sometimes required to put an end to these contests. A story from William Wilkinson, an old Eagle man, illustrates this fact. One Sunday afternoon while returning from a fire, the Eagle met the Allegheny men at Market and Liberty Streets. The Eagle Captain gave an order that his company march quietly by, without any demonstration, which was obeyed by all except one bully of the company who tried to provoke a quarrel. The Captain rushed to a hardware store. and picking up a pitchfork made for the man who wanted to fight; the latter ran and by dodging around the corner escaped the weapon, the tines of which were buried two inches deep in the side of the frame house on a line with the would-be combatant's carcass. There was no fight that day. It is to be said, however, that the fights, disgraceful as they were, proved the interest taken in the engines of the different companies by the members, and in fact it appears from the records that the period of the most violent rivalry and furious fighting was also that of the greatest efficiency. According to this

criterion the halcyon days of the Eagle were the decade from 1840 to 1850. The historians agree that during these years there was no skulking or fining for absenteeism. The first tap of the bell brought every member to run with the machine, or make others run from it, as the case might be.

The second volunteer company in Pittsburgh was the Allegheny Engine and Hose Company, organized in 1802. The Allegheny was always a progressive company and kept abreast of the times in new appliances and improvements. The first engine was much larger than the Eagle of the same date, being a 101/2 double-chamber engine, constructed in Philadelphia, with 100 feet of hose on the engine and 800 on the hose cart. In 1850 the company was reorganized with the following officers: President, Edward Gregg: Vice-President, William B. Shaffer; Secretary, Thomas H. Lane; Treasurer, A. Nimick; Captain, Harry Chignell; Lieutenants, S. W. Mc-Sherry, George Sterick; Engineers, R. Splane, E. Parker, J. Mackrell and J. Fitzpatrick; Hose Directors, W. McStein, William Montgomery, Thomas Murphy, R. O'Leary, H. McKenna and William P. Gallagher; Axmen, Thomas Johnson and Harrison Richey; Plug-guards, John Herron and William McKee; Delegates to Firemen's Association, Edward Gregg, Henry Chignell and William Trovillo; Fire Wardens, Isaiah Aiken, Daniel Burns, William McLaughlin, Jacob Myers and Samuel McClurkan. The following list comprises the names of the honorary members of the company: James B. Murray, James B. Sawyer, John P. Glass, Edward Darlington, C. J. Agnew, Samuel Garrison, Joseph C. Campbell, John Lee Coval, Joseph Robb, C. H. Paulson, S. McClurkan, John Gallagher, Samuel P. Darlington, John T. Logan, George R. White, J. H. McClellan, R. C. Stockton, John Seetin, Captain John Herron, James O. H. Scully, W. W. Wallace, T. R. Holmes, George Darsie, J. W. Burbridge, R. W. Poindexter, R. M. Riddle, J. R. Harsh, L. R. Livingston, R. H. Kerr, Jared M. Brush, William Thorn, Jean T. Herbst, W. H. Whitney, J. J. Roggen, J. R. Hayes, J. McD. Blackstock, Wilson McCandless, John Coyle, Jr., William C. Meredith, A. Nimick, C. S. Eyster, James Chalfant, Henry Richardson and Andrew J. Lee. The active members in good standing numbered 118.

Although some friends of the old Neptune claim its organization as a bucket brigade in 1808, there is no documentary evidence to show that it was organized before 1815. The Neptune engine was built in Pittsburgh, the body being made by "Squire" John Sampson of Manchester, while John Arthurs built the rest. It was a 9¼-inch double-chamber engine. The first engine house for the Neptune was built at Sixth Avenue and Wood Street, on the lot of the First Presbyterian Church. The engine house was next situated at the corner of Cherry Alley and Sixth, after the commencement of the tunnel under Grant's Hill, and made from filling the Hog Pond with earth from the excavation.

The old Neptune, in comparison with some of her Philadelphia-made contemporaries, was not the belle of the fire ball, but held her own in a way worthy of her Pittsburgh builders. At length the company demanded a more modern machine, and of course they got it. It was built by Smith & Minis, which firm became successively Robinson and Minis, then Robinson, Minis and Miller, then the Robinson-Rea Company.

The first test of the new engine was somewhat of a failure, but the final trial, at the corner of Second and Grant Streets, completely stunned the opposition. The other companies were on hand to see, but those who came to scoff went away to dry themselves. The little Eagle was pulled up by its wearers of the green; the red-shirted Vigilants were there in force, and the cream-colored Alleghenies dragged up their Champion to witness what the big "True Blues" would accomplish. The Neptune topped everything, and at once established itself as the master engine of the city.

For several years the big Neptune took the leading place at all fires, the chief trouble recorded on the minutes being a difficulty in retaining overcoats and capes, which mysteriously disappeared. This was accounted for by the fact that a brisk trade in overcoats was being carried on at Louisville and other stations down the river by the coal boatmen, who generally carried the garments through to New Orleans where they were exchanged for game-cocks.

In a City Directory of 1837 the following officers of the Neptune are recorded: John McQueen, President; John Irwin, Vice-President; R. Porter, Secretary; William Edgar, Captain; T. Myers, Treasurer, and 80 members.

After nine years continuous service it was decided to rebuild the engine, retaining the old Smith and Minis works, dispensing with the water boxes and adding two side streams, besides lengthening the levers. The machine was ready again for duty December 31, 1841. In 1842, 67 new members were added to the rolls, and a considerable number stricken off for non-attendance.

In December, 1845, arrangements were made to rebuild the engine, retaining the Smith works which had done such splendid service. The cost was \$690.87.

In 1856 the first steam fire engine, "Citizen," built by Joseph C. Lowry, a member of the Neptune, was placed with the company, but it was too large and cumbersome to be of practical use and was withdrawn from the service. This is one account, but another is that the company would not or could not pay for it. Arrangements were made after the withdrawal of the steamer to have a new hand engine built by William M. Jones, of Baltimore, which cost \$2,700, but the levers broke on the first occasion of hard work, showing the old Pittsburgh-made engine of 1832 to have been better

adapted for service, and justifying the challenge on the Neptune flag, "Beat this engine and take the banner."

On June 3, 1811, the Vigilant company was organized in William Morrow's tavern, corner of Fourth and Wood Streets. The names of the original members, preserved in the book of the first Treasurer, John Thaw, were: Richard K. Adams, John Aitken, George Anschutz, Thomas Bracklin, Thomas Baird, Daniel Bathrick, Daniel Beltzhoover, James B. Callow, Thomas Cooper, Robert Cunliffe, John Carson, John Darragh, Thomas Davis, Edward Ensall, Jr., Thomas Fairman, John Fearis, John Gorman, Ed. Gowdy, John Hanna, James Kirwin, Christian Latshaw, William Leckey, Thomas Leggate, John Leggate, John Linton, John McGrew, Thomas McKee, George W. McClelland, Thomas McPherson, John McCombs, John McDonald, James Morrison, Magnus M. Murray, who was the third Mayor of Pittsburgh; John Osbourn, Ephraim Purtland, the Rev. Robert Patterson, Daniel Pride, Mahlon Rodgers, Thomas Rowe, Isaac Roberts, George Robinson, Arch. Thaw, Mark Stackhouse, Lazarus Stewart, William Semple, John Thaw, Abner Updegraff, William Williams. The following officers were elected: William Wilkins, President; John Darragh, Secretary: John Thaw, Treasurer. A committee was authorized to solicit subscriptions for the purchase of an engine, and within six months had collected \$500 from the borough and \$250 from the county, with which the company purchased a third-class engine from Patrick Lyon of Philadelphia, the then celebrated maker, who shipped the machine by wagon September 10, 1812. The charge for freight would give the Interstate Commerce Commission hysterics, being \$5 per 100 pounds, amounting to \$98. The engine arrived September 28, 1812, and the Vigilant was then ready for active service.

On November 26, 1833, the company was reorganized and on December 4, 1833, a new constitution adopted. In 1834 a new engine arrived from Philadelphia by wagon, from Merrick & Agnew, costing \$1,100. It was then considered a beauty, having high wheels, extension brakes and all the improvements of the day, and weighed 3,300 pounds. In 1835 the little Vigilant was sold to Bakewell & Anderson for \$200 to assist in paying for the new engine, and was later sold by them to Wellsburgh, West Virginia.

At the inspection in the following August, the Vigilant had 72 fully equipped members, 20 more than any company in the two cities. In 1842 dissensions in the Vigilant caused a split and resulted in the formation of the Duquesne Company. In November of that year a new constitution was adopted by the Vigilant Company and in February, 1843, it again went into active service. In 1860 a committee consisting of Robert C. Elliott, Eugene Alexander, James Petrie, B. C. Sawyer, Sr., and James Irvin, was appointed to obtain a steamer. The committee went East, and after inspecting every-

thing on the market, agreed to purchase a second-class tank engine of the Amoskeag Company, to be delivered the first of July following.

The new steam fire engine arrived July 1, 1861, and was tested, giving entire satisfaction. It threw one stream, 15%-inch nozzle, 167 feet; 1½-inch nozzle, 223 feet; 1½-inch nozzle, 226 feet; without nozzle, 73 feet; two streams, 1½-inch and 1½-inch nozzles, each 205 feet. In October of the same year the charter was amended so as to change the name to the Vigilant Steam Fire Engine and Hose Company.

The origin of the Niagara Fire Engine Company is cloaked in mystery, and tales of a predecessor, named the Phœnix, which, with a devotedness, or folly, as the public may please to view it, gave up its life to support the fledgling Niagara. Still this tale of the Phœnix is subject to serve plucking. The only Phœnix on record in the directory of Pittsburgh for 1837 is "The Phœnix of Alleghenytown; one single-chamber engine, built in Philadelphia, with 600 feet of hose on a two-wheeled carriage." The Phœnix, alleged to have been the parent of the Niagara Fire Company, organized in 1838, is said to have been located on Liberty Street, in Bayardstown, with John Stewart, father of Col. John H. Stewart, as Captain.

Soon after its organization it was located on Penn Avenue, near Fifteenth Street, and remained there while in service. It is thought the modern Niagara Company's engine-house, known as No. 15, occupied the identical site. The first president of the company was John Ralston, a tanner, and Col. Samuel McKelvey, now of Sewickley, was its first captain. The first hand engine was built by E. & F. Faber, of Pittsburgh, on Fountain Street, where the Pan Handle roundhouse later stood, and was re-built and enlarged by Joseph Kaye, in 1848, the engine weighing then 5,300 pounds. The company held its own, and although not achieving the fame of the Neptune in its palmy days, or that of the Vigilant in all stages, yet it did effective work when work was needed. To the Niagara Engine Company is accredited the credit of saving the Third Church during the fire of 1845 and thus preventing the spread of a calamity fearful enough as it was.

In 1853 the company was disbanded through internal disagreements started and fostered by persons envious of the reputation achieved by the Niagara. These persons failed of their object, owing to the good judgment and firm stand taken by Joseph Kaye, Col. Sam McKelvey, and other earnest members, through whose exertions the company was re-organized in the spring of 1854, with Jacob Arrick, Captain; William Porter, First Engineer; A. J. Cupples, later in the paid department, First Hose Director. The later Assistant Chief of the Fire Department, John Steel, who served in every capacity in the old Volunteer Niagara, from hanging on to the ropes on the run, and Fourth Hose Director to Captain, was elected to the latter office in 1858. In 1859 the company, at a very largely attended meeting,

adopted steam, and decided to use the Worthington pump. The engine was built by Joseph Kaye, James Hemphill, John H. McElroy and Joseph French, all of whose names subsequently became well known in the manufacturing world. The engine was made at Knapp's Machine Works, and purchased for \$2,300 which was subscribed principally by the manufacturers of the immediate vicinity, and the insurance companies.

The early days of the Relief Fire Engine Company are unrelieved by any authentic data on which to base a history of its origin, but that it did exist previous to 1855 there is evidence in the minutes of the meeting of September 25th, of that year, at which a re-organization took place. The minutes make plain, despite needless verbiage, that certain of the old by-laws were re-enacted and others repealed.

That Faber was the builder of the original engine is evident from a bill presented by O. H. Rippey for costs and a balance on behalf of the firm, which was paid April 4, 1856, amounting to \$19.72.

The next important meeting was on September 22, 1857, when the officers for the ensuing year were elected: George Cochran, Jr., President; Absalom Sauer, Vice-President; Fred Ruch, Secretary; John Kearcher, Treasurer; Jeremiah Gumbert, Captain; John T. McCoy and Benjamin Garver, Lieutenants.

Although scarcely to be classed with the old companies, the latest volunteer organization in the Pittsburgh Fire Department was the Rescue. It was started early in 1870. In the spring of that year East Liberty was the scene of a large number of fires, undoubtedly of incendiary origin, and the property-holders of that locality were alarmed. In order to protect the property of the town a Hook and Ladder company was established, but although the men were paid for their services by the property holders, their organization never was recognized as a part of the regular paid Fire Department. The Rescue was quartered in a shed connected with the stables of George McComas, on Liberty Street, and subsequently in a shed in rear of the old Union Hotel, Frankstown Avenue. Following were the names of the members: William Wilson, Foreman; John Trapp, Charles Long, David W. Thompson and James L. Lloyd. The latter in later years were members of No. 8 Engine Company. The Rescue was a short-lived organization, lasting only about 18 months, when it was displaced by the new paid services.

There were other volunteer companies, which had not such age to boast of as those enumerated—the "Independence," at the Tenth Ward Enginehouse, succeeded by No. 7; the "Good Intent," on Wylie Avenue near Logan, noted chiefly for a rough and belligerent membership, and the "Good Will," the principal motto of which seemed to be that good will, like charity, began at home—and remained confined to home.

The Fairmount engine, which began its career on Pike between Twelfth

and Thirteenth Streets, was a capital piece of rolling stock as it rolled in the way of other companies, with the view of starting a fight.

The Volunteer Fire Department of the South Side had a distinct and interesting history before the annexation of that section to the city. The date of its birth is obscure; in fact the Department may be regarded as having originated in the same manner as claimed by the frolicsome Topsy—it simply "growed." The date of its organization may be anywhere from 1828 to 1838, as many men claimed to have served as volunteers at various times between those years. Mr. Mann's history declares that the South Side Volunteers, like other firemen of their day and generation, used whisky and water to extinguish fires. The water sometimes failed, but the whisky never, and an obstinate fire has been known to consume half a barrel of whisky before the flames finally succumbed to the ardor of the volunteers. The same rivalry existed among the South Side companies as in the city, and the encounters were at first as animated as north of the Monongahela.

The "Hydraulic" was the name of the first volunteer company of the South Side, the company taking the title from the engine. It was known to exist in 1836, but there is no more clew to the date of its decease than to the burial place of Moses. It appears to have had no regular organization, for David Kay, who was axman of the company, and in 1889, seen at his Bingham Street residence, thus gave his recollections: "Pooh, pooh! it was no fire company; it was just a lot of young rascals who ran with the machine, fought one another and the other companies, and squirted more water on the spectators for the fun of the thing than on the fire. They used to call the engine the Coffee Mill. It had two cranks with four men to each. Often it wouldn't do more than churn the water, and wouldn't even do that sometimes. The water was taken from the ponds and swamps, with which the South Side abounded, and when the Hydraulic, belying its name, refused to draw, the men of course, had to carry the water in buckets. Oh, I tell you, firemen's work was no joke in those days."

As near as can be ascertained from reliable data, the next South Side volunteer company organized, was "The Hope," somewhere about the year 1840. It may have been organized earlier, but its first active operations on record are in that year. In the height of its prosperity it carried 240 members on the active list, but the average membership was very much below that. Among the early captains of the company were John Stinger, George Smith, Joseph Simms, David Cunningham and John W. Carle. The engine was a single chamber suction machine, built in Pittsburgh, and for some time in use in Allegheny, from which city it was purchased.

The Hope Company took an active part in subduing South Side fires, its most distinguished service being in 1854 when over 50 buildings were

destroyed. The reason for the spread of this fire beyond control is worth noting. All the fire companies were out that day, attending the funeral of David Jewell, captain of the "Neptune" Company of Pittsburgh. The alarm sounded while the cortége was in the old Methodist graveyard, in Minersville, and by the time the firemen got back to their houses, and made the run to the fire, the flames had got beyond the control of the resources of those days. There was a strong westerly wind blowing, and the fire spread with great rapidity. The fire originated in the black bottle house of Johnson & Co., later the Macbeth factory, on Sunday, May 22, at 3 P.M. It burned up Tenth Street to the hill, and along above Carson Street. The destruction of household goods and personal property was very extensive, many of the mill and glass-men losing everything. The Hope Engine was stationed on the river bank, and being a suction machine pumped water into the boxes of the four other engines, which were playing on the flames. During the fire the men broke into the saloon of Thomas Shaffer, Alderman Shaffer's father, and consumed a considerable quantity of liquor.

The Hope was a very large engine and exceedingly difficult to handle, and its principal use, as in the above instance, was supplying the other engines with water. The last recorded appearance of the Hope in public was on the eve of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863. The glass-workers, who went off duty at midnight, were the first to hear of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, and as news loses nothing by travel, they expected to see Lee, Pickett, Longstreet and J. E. B. Stewart, taking up positions from Mt. Oliver to Duquesne Heights, and commencing to shell the city with the first blush of morning. They appreciated in advance the difference between being at a fire and under fire, and opening up the Hope engine-house, ran through the South Side with the engine and hose cart, yelling and warning the people to flee from the rebel wrath to come. The non-appearance of Lee's army by special delivery in the morning, alone stopped the howling and ringing of alarm bells. and the performance ends with the boys running the Hope Engine into the river, where it remained until the Town Council of Birmingham had scraped together enough money to have it pulled out and returned to the enginehouse. Thence it never again issued to answer another alarm. The enginehouse of the Hope was located on Carson Street, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, on a site now occupied by a clothing store.

The Mechanic Volunteer Company was organized in 1866, and maintained an excellent record until it was, four years later, merged into the Paid Department as No. 11, which still retains the name of Mechanic. Among its Captains were James Charlton, killed at a fire, James Smith, Alex. Jones and John Richardson, all noted South Siders. During its existence as a volunteer company it averaged 250 members on the active rolls. The Company, although in general well-behaved, had its share of the jealousies, and the

belligerency which so greatly impaired the usefulness of the volunteers. This was signally shown as late as 1867, when a fire, starting in a saloon, destroyed the store of Charles Irwin, on the corner of Seventeenth and Carson Streets. and several other buildings. The water-pipes had been laid, but no fire-plugs had as yet been set. John Robinson, a well-known husky fireman, went to Jones & Laughlin's and procured what was known as the Lowry patent plug, to which four hose could be attached at the same time, and each receive all the water it could carry, provided the water supply was sufficient. The rivalry of the companies was then at its highest pitch, and Robinson, to secure a monopoly for his company of the water supply, and get the sole honor of extinguishing the fire, stood over the plug with upraised hands and swore he would kill any man who should attempt to attach the hose of any other company to the plug. His authority was not disputed.

One very cold Saturday night, in December, 1868, a number of buildings were burned at the head of South Third Street. At this fire Captain James Charlton, of the Mechanics, was killed by a falling chimney. The building had fallen in, leaving the chimney standing, and as the Captain stood beside it, directing the men, it collapsed, crushing him. The historian says: "One of the pleasant social characteristics of the Mechanic Volunteer Company, was that, whenever any citizen of Birmingham, whether a fireman or not, got married, the bridegroom was loaded upon the hose reel and hauled over the roughest streets possible, until he ordered up drinks for the party at the nearest saloon. This tax upon matrimony was exacted until the Paid Fire Department came into existence."

In 1865, the Walton Volunteer Company was organized, but received no apparatus until the following year. It had a brief existence as a volunteer company, and entered the Paid Department as No. 12. It carried about 200 members and most of its captains were long very prominent in South Side affairs. The Company was always a popular as well as efficient organization.

The Ormsby Hose Company was organized in 1870, simply, as its name indicates, for hose service. Its first and only Captain was Marcus Donley, the present Councilman, from the Twenty-fourth Ward, who, during his brief but excellent career as a Hose Captain commanded 138 men. The hose-house was situated on Carson Street, between Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Streets, in the Twenty-fourth Ward.

The last volunteer company organized on the South Side was the South Pittsburgh Hose Company, also organized in 1870, but later in the year than the Ormsby. Its Captain was John Richardson, and the Company mustered 80 men, all of whom are said to have been sons of the Emerald Isle. Its house was located in the Thirtieth Ward, and it answered all fires on the South Side. The Company ceased to exist in 1873, when the Paid Department was extended south of the Monongahela.

This ends the list of well-known volunteer fire organizations. To-day Pittsburgh possesses one of the best organized and most effective Fire Departments in the country, with a trained body of stalwart men working in unison. No fight for a plug stops proceedings, and no jealousy of other companies prompts the hose men to play one another, while the fire burns merrily on. And yet the historian writing in 1890 averred that there were still "graybearded men looking back with regret to the age when as boys they tugged at the ropes, bathed themselves in perspiration working at the brakes, or in later days joyfully jumped ahead of the early steam engines, for the honor of dragging the wood cart, which preceded the steamers of those days, and cleared the way to the fire. Good men and true belonged to those old companies, most of them now gone where, it is to be hoped, the firemen's duty is unnecessary; men who laid down their lives at their country's call, and men who certainly served their fellow men with fidelity and without remuneration. When we take into consideration the crudity and incompleteness of the apparatus of early days and the inflammable character of the buildings erected, we cannot withhold a tribute from the men who took their lives in their hands, and worked for the public good with no reward save the approval of their own consciences, and the ephemeral plaudits of a fickle public. All honor to the memories of the firemen of long ago."

With the jurisdiction of the city covering an area of 22 square miles, and the river fronts and principal streets lined with costly manufacturing and business structures, the thinking people of the City of Pittsburgh, decided, in the latter part of 1869, that the time had come when proper protection against fire could only be obtained through the organization of a Fire Department whose members should be paid and who should give their whole time to the work of fighting fires. Legislative sanction for such an undertaking was necessary, and was obtained without difficulty. The State Legislature met in January, and on the twenty-third day of March, 1870, Governor Geary signed "An Act to establish the Pittsburgh Fire Department."

The Act was not long, but it granted ample powers. It empowered the Councils of the City of Pittsburgh to establish, organize and control a Fire Department for the city, and to provide for the expenses thereof. A year later a supplementary enactment was adopted, declaring it unlawful for any persons to interfere with, obstruct or retard any of the officers or employees of the Department while in the discharge of their duties, and giving the officers and employees of the Department, in going to or at any fire, the right of way over any other vehicle excepting those actually carrying the United States mail.

Immediately after the passage of the first act the Councils began the consideration of an ordinance to carry its provisions into effect. On the 14th of April, 1870, this measure was adopted. It provided that the Councils

should, at a joint meeting called for the purpose, elect nine citizens, residents of the city, to be Fire Commissioners. These Commissioners, the ordinance provided, were to form a Fire Department, to take and have control and management of all officers, men, property, measures, and action for the prevention and extinguishment of fires within the city. Three of the Commissioners first chosen were to serve three years, three were to serve two years, and three one year. Their successors were to serve three years. The Commissioners, it was stipulated, should receive no pay. No member of the Councils was eligible to the office of Commissioner.

Another section provided that all property in possession of the volunteer department should be turned over to the Commissioners, "and the said department shall hereafter have sole and exclusive power and authority to extinguish fires in said city of Pittsburgh." The Board of Commissioners. was authorized to provide supplies, horses, tools, implements and apparatus. of any and all kinds, to be used in extinguishing fires, and to provide suitable locations for the same. The officers of the Department, according to this ordinance, were to consist of a Secretary, Chief and Assistant Engineers. eight men for each steamer, four men for each hose company and six men for each hook and ladder company. The salaries of these officers were fixed as follows: Chief Engineer, \$1,200 per year; \$840 per year to the Assistant Engineer: \$840 to each foreman: \$820 to each Engineer of steamers: \$750 to each driver of steamers, and \$720 to each of the other employees. The officers and employees of the Fire Department were to coöperate with the police force of the city; that they should be sworn in like manner, as the members of the police force, and, in case of emergency, that they be subject to the orders of the Mayor, as members of the police force are.

The groundwork of organization having thus been provided, the following were chosen as the first Board of Fire Commissioners: Henry Hays, R. W. Mackey, Robert Finney, John J. Torley, W. M. McKelvey, M. K. Moorhead, John H. Stewart, John H. McElroy and Thomas Reese. Mr. Reese died a few months later. The Board organized and entered upon the discharge of their duties, May 5, 1870. Mr. Hays was chosen President and Mr. B. Neeper, Secretary, John H. McElroy was elected Chief Engineer, William J. White, Assistant Chief Engineer, and S. T. Paisley, Superintendent of the Fire Alarm Telegraph. R. C. Elliott served as clerk to the Board until July 27, when he was succeeded by William J. Diehl. The members of the Board were representative citizens and business men. They worked so energetically that by January 1, 1871, with the property and appurtenances of the old volunteer department, they had organized what was considered an effective fire department. In this work, and in the payment of the salaries of employees the sum of \$66,555.77 was expended. The equipment consisted of six steam fire engines (three second-class double-plunger engines and three

second-class "harp" tank single engines) with hose companies; two hook and ladder trucks, with an aggregate length of ladders of 305 feet, with poles, hooks, etc.; one hose company, situated in the 17th Ward, with company; one hose company situated near Soho Run, without paid company; one steam fire engine and hose carriage, in use as a substitute; one steam fire engine not in use, being too heavy, and 24 horses. The employees of all grades numbered 69. The Fire Alarm Telegraph, which was also used for police purposes, consisted of 65 miles of wire and 97 signal boxes. The fire plugs numbered 410.

The gross fire losses for the year aggregated \$751,465; but all connected with the Department predicted that, unless extraordinary fires occurred, the high water-mark in the matter of losses had been reached. Chief Engineer McElroy boasted "that the Pittsburgh Fire Department can, and does, put water upon a fire after the receipt of an alarm as soon, if not sooner, than any other fire department in the United States." There is no record that the claim was successfully disputed.

When the Board of Commissioners made their report to the Councils for the first year, they ventured the assertion that the original outlay was larger than would be required for succeeding years. They did not take into account the rapid growth of the city. It was found necessary, before January 1, 1872, to contract for the erection and equipment of another engine-house to be located in the "Hill District," the old 11th Ward, and that portion of the city then known as the 17th Ward, loudly clamored for protection. result was a considerable increase in the expense of the Department, the total expenditures for the year reaching \$88,252.82. This was compensated for by a marked decrease in the fire losses, which amounted to \$164,534.80, or less than one-fourth the loss of the previous year. That this falling off was due more to the increased efficiency of the employees of the Department than to good luck is shown by the fact that during the year many fires occurred which threatened to become very destructive, but at none did all the apparatus go into service. In only two cases did the fire extend beyond the building in which it originated, and then the loss was slight.

A number of changes were made in the personnel of the Department. Andrew J. Cupples became Chief Engineer, Thomas Little, Jr., Secretary, and Samuel L. Fullwood, Superintendent of the Fire Alarm Telegraph. Of the persons who manned the engines at this time the Chief Engineer wrote: "These men, for moral conduct and physical strength to perform the duties appertaining to their respective positions will compare with any portion of the community. . . . I am more than ever convinced that only he who is actuated by such a high sense of honor as to cause him to perform well and faithfully his duty in whatever situation in life he may be placed, is capable of performing the arduous duties of the fireman, to take the risk of

both life and health which so often falls to his lot. Many such men, I am proud to say, you have in this Department." In recognition of their services, the Councils on May 29, 1871, increased the salary of the Chief Engineer to \$1,500 per annum, and the compensation of other officers and firemen in proportion.

At the election in 1872 Alex. Pitcairn and William Walton were chosen members of the Board of Fire Commissioners, in place of Robert Finney and William McKelvey. John H. Stewart was reëlected. William I. White was promoted to be Chief Engineer, and John Hamill appointed Assistant Chief Engineer. During this year the boroughs on the South Side of the Monongahela River were annexed to the city, increasing by nine square miles the territory to be protected. The effect of this was to swell the expenditures of the Department to \$104,651. There was no complaint at this. however, as the fire loss had shrunk to \$146,482. One-half this loss was caused by one fire, of which the Department was not notified until the flames had gained great headway. This record was all the more remarkable in view of the fact that there seemed to be an epidemic of great fires during this year. All the large cities of the country suffered severely, and the loss of Pittsburgh was less than that of any other important city. The experience of the year proved that the spirit among the citizens which made the Volunteer Department a success in its day was not extinct. From the 7th of November to the close of the month all the horses of the Department were disabled by the horse disease then prevalent throughout the country. During the time the horses were out of service the engines were called out oftener than during the previous months. They were dragged on every occasion by citizens, and there was never a scarcity of volunteers.

Henry Hays, who had been President of the Board of Fire Commissioners since its organization, retired from membership, as did Mr. M. K. Moorhead. R. W. Mackey was reëlected and Jenkin Jones and James A. Chambers were also chosen members. George W. Wilson was chosen President of the Board, and Frank P. Case, Secretary. The large extension made necessary by the annexation of outlying districts swelled the expenditures during this year to \$232,255.59. But the force was increased to 112 men; the apparatus included 10 steam engines in active use, and two in reserve, with everything else necessary for the complete equipment of the Department. The number of fire plugs had been increased to 663, and the number of signal boxes to 182. Reviewing this, President Wilson said: "It is believed that the Pittsburgh Fire Department is one of the best equipped and furnished, and one of the most ably conducted, in the country. Certainly its success cannot be denied. With 27 square miles of area to cover, and water facilities wanting in a considerable portion of the territory, our losses during the past year have been far less, proportionately, than in any city in the Union." Chief Engineer White, at the same time, wrote: "Having a notification of the breaking out of a fire within a reasonable time thereafter, and a sufficient supply of water, I claim that the Department will prove efficient in preventing conflagrations or disastrous fires."

Before the close of 1874 Robert W. Mackey, William Walton and John H. Stewart retired from the Board of Fire Commissioners. The terms of George W. Wilson, John J. Torley and John H. McElroy expired during that year. They were reëlected, and John Larimer, Thomas A. Pender and William B. Hays were chosen to fill the vacancies. Mr. Wilson was continued as President. The expenditures of the Department were \$70,386.17 less than the preceding year, but the losses by fire showed an increase of \$47,000 due to the insufficiency of the water supply.

The most noteworthy event of the year was an invention by an employee of the department, Joseph Busha, Engineer of Engine Company No. 4. It consisted of a simple device by which a slate was connected with the gongs in the engine-houses and the alarm thereon recorded; this precluded the possibility of error in counting the alarm, and allowed all members of the company to aid in the preparations for answering alarms. The importance of the invention was such that it was soon adopted in every city in the country.

The year 1875 was the most trying in the history of the fire department up to that time. There were no changes in the personnel of the Board, but William J. White was succeeded as Chief Engineer by John J. Hamill, and Samuel N. Evans was made Assistant Chief Engineer. There were 195 alarms of fire during this year and the gross loss was \$368,351. The strain was so severe that on the thirteenth of July Chief Engineer Hamill, while on his way to a fire, was prostrated by over-exertion and anxiety, and never recovered fully. His place, during the balance of the year, was filled by John H. McElroy, who was one of the first members of the board, and who served without pay. At the election in 1876 William B. Hays was reëlected a member of the board, and William N. Erwin and William Coates were chosen to succeed Jenkin Jones and James A. Chambers. William J. White was again chosen Chief Engineer. The number of fires was the highest on record up to that time, but the gross loss was less than the average of the six previous years. By the close of the year the property of the department had increased to the value of \$422,206; the force of the department was 126 men, and the apparatus consisted of 12 engines, five hook and ladder trucks, and an adequate supply of everything else necessary for the equipment of a first-class Fire Department for a populous and progressive city. The growth of the Paid Fire Department has been described with some minuteness because when established it was an experiment. That it was in good hands, and that it was successfully carried out was abundantly demon-

strated during the year 1877, when the city for several days was controlled by rioters. The officers and men of the Pittsburgh Fire Department worked day and night through that terrible period, fighting one fire after another, and often being compelled to defend themselves against the assaults of the mob. It was beyond human ability to prevent heavy loss, but the display of courage and discipline in this ordeal won for the members of the department the admiration of all citizens. After the storm had passed none could be found to suggest any better system for the protection of life and property from fire than that which had been organized with the consent of barely a majority of the community a few years before.

Pittsburgh's greatest fire occurred on April 10, 1845, starting when a shed in the rear of a dwelling on the east side of Ferry Street, corner of Second Street (now Second Avenue), was ignited by a fire set by a washerwoman. Protracted dry weather, the prevalence of high winds and a general concurrence of circumstances favorable to a rapid spread of fire, prevailed at the time, and within a few minutes all combustibles within a large area were aflame and the residents terror stricken at the menace and horror of the situation so suddenly created. Then, too, the reserve of water in the city reservoir was unusually low, which drawback made the work of subduing the flames practically impossible. After a half hour the winds increased in violence and momently the area of destruction was expanded until it was seen that the best that could be expected would be the salvage of property, the movables in buildings not yet within the scope of the flames.

The trend of the fire was north and east, the winds being west and south. The Globe cotton factory and the Third Presbyterian Church were the first large buildings to be attacked, but the factory alone was burned, but others were speedily fired, and as nothing but bucket service could be used, the progress of the fire was not arrested, especially as it worked eastwardly along Water, First, Second, Third and finally Fourth and Diamond Streets, toward Grand and Ross Streets. It made its destructive exit out Second Street to Pipeton and Kensington, manufacturing suburbs of the city lying between the Monongahela River and a high backbone of a hill that still lies between Forbes and Second Avenues.

Within these limits and area the destruction was complete. The fire required seven hours to cover and consume the property upon the streets over which it traveled, but the most of the destruction was accomplished within two hours. A committee appointed by Council made a careful inventory of losses with the following results: "Nine hundred and eighty-two buildings burned, value, \$1,500,000; personal property, \$900,000; total, \$2,400,000." A more careful estimate shortly afterward showed an aggregate loss of from \$5,000,000 to \$8,000,000. Among the many buildings destroyed were the Firemen's and Insurance office, Fire and Navigation Insurance

office, Penn Insurance office, Mayor's office, Tombs, Merchants' and Board of Trade reading rooms, the files, books and rare collections of books and the library; Philo Hall, Bank of Pittsburgh, *Chronicle* newspaper offices, Merchants' Hotel, Wood Street; Eagle Hotel, Third Street; the Monongahela House, Smithfield and First and Second Streets; American Hotel, Third and Smithfield Streets; Smithfield Hotel, Second and Smithfield Streets; Associate Presbyterian Church, Fourth Street; Baptist Church, Grant and Third Street; Western University (now University of Pittsburgh); African Methodist Church; Scotch Hill Market House; Monongahela Bridge; Custom House."

Pittsburgh people immediately began to feel that the country was in sympathy with it in its great distress. The Pennsylvania Legislature appropriated \$50,000 with which to meet immediate exigencies; it also passed a resolution releasing local business for three years from the payment of State mercantile licenses. The total of outside contributions was \$199,566, of which sum \$100,800 came from Pennsylvania; Massachusetts, \$16,741; New Hampshire, \$329; New York, \$23,265; New Jersey, \$557; Maryland, \$11,513; Delaware, \$1,322; District of Columbia, \$2,872; Ohio, \$10,081; Michigan, \$100; Kentucky, \$5,773; Tennessee, \$1,259; Indiana, \$52; Missouri, \$3,883; Alabama, \$1,652; Mississippi, \$1,291; Georgia, \$470; Louisiana, \$7,167; Europe, \$651. Local discomfort, deprivation and inconvenience, however, were the most immediate results of the conflagration. Thieves and night marauders added to the losses already incurred; besides, there were neither tents nor local provisions for the houseless and homeless who had neither food nor means of cooking the little that was proffered them in the days succeeding the fire. The most important and wealthy portion of the city had gone up in smoke, and with it the resources of the residents. More than 2,000 families were homeless. Gradually the relief began to be organized and comparative comfort to prevail owing to the hearty efforts of those who were affected by the destitution and desperation of their friends and neighbors. Again, the contributions of money and materials by the outside world began to make themselves felt, and it was not long in most instances until every shoulder in the city was pushing the effort to rebuild and to reconstruct, and soon results began to manifest themselves in the reappearance of new structures in spots all over the burnt district. Better and more serviceable buildings these were, and it was not long until many losers were persuaded that they were gainers by the fire. A spirit of greater confidence in themselves and in the future of their city was born of the misfortune, and every new building, public and private, that was put up within a year, many of them in a very few months, was a distinct expression of confidence in the city and in its prospects.

Despite the area of complete property destruction, only two persons lost



SYRIA MOSQUE, SCHENLEY FARMS



their lives because of the fire. Samuel Kingston, Esq., and Mrs. Malone perished near the Scotch Hill Market House. Among the greater losses in the fire were those of commission and forwarding merchants and companies, 37 of these having been wiped out; six druggists; five dry goods merchants; four hardware stores; two paper warehouses; five boot and shoe establishments: two livery stables, and scores of minor business houses. Insurance losses aggregated \$870,000, the losses of individuals ranging from \$5,000 to \$200,000. An idea of the spirit of the day is reflected in a local report: "Commercial prospects were prostrated, but not permanently. Some even lost all they possessed, but many of the business houses affected were strong financially and in inherent ability to cope with such a calamity; their misfortunes were borne with fortitude and a spirit which enabled them to recover. The absence of despair and sullenness and a disposition of the afflicted to aid one another extended to all classes."

An Act of the Legislature in 1847 provided that in 1848 and in ensuing years the Select Council should have two members from each ward, one to be elected annually, and that Common Council should have thirty members, apportioned to the wards according to their population. The engine in the Allegheny River for the new waterworks was of 275 horse-power and had a capacity of 180,000 gallons an hour, to an elevation of 160 feet above river level. This year the demolition of the old county courthouse ("an eyesore"), was ordered.

Late in October, 1847, it was found that 2,000 new buildings had been erected in the 10 months of that year in the city. In the same period 609 new structures had gone up in the "burned district." This year Knapp & Totten were given the contract for the construction to equip Allegheny with new pipes and engines for its new system of waterworks and supply.

The boroughs in the vicinity of Pittsburgh in 1847 were Birmingham, McKeesport, Elizabeth, Manchester, Lawrenceville and Sharpsburg. Pittsburgh had nine wards, Allegheny four wards. The First Ward of Pittsburgh with 734 taxables, had three members of Common Council; Second Ward, with 684 taxables, three members; Third Ward with 1,391 taxables, six members; Fourth Ward, 723 taxables, three members; Fifth Ward, 1,620 taxables, seven members; Sixth Ward, three members; Seventh Ward, 351 taxables, three members; Eighth and Ninth Wards, one member each. Total taxables, 6,840, with 28 members and two to elect at large. year Council authorized the taking of seven feet from Grant's Hill to be dumped into the low ground at Smithfield Street and Fifth Avenue. Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Wards were added to the city in 1845-46. Free bridges were advocated in 1846 in consequence of raising tolls between Allegheny and Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh city's property ownings in January, 1848, were of a value of \$1,313,534.

The relative city and county assessments for the years 1840-48, inclusive, were tabulated as follows:

	County As'm't	City As'm't	Al'y As'm't
1840	\$71,563.83	\$28,598.88	\$8,070.05
1841	75,921.69	30,499.53	8,588.88
1842	77,482.22	30,845.98	8,988.34
1843	46,345.95	18,097.54	5,430.54
1844	47,949.60	16,890.35	5,895.73
1845	32,339.24	8,860.19	5,053.84
1846	31,036.65	10,207.68	4,796.49
1847	<i>37,556.<b>77</b></i>	13,235.79	5,688.02
1848	49,734.19	18,805.67	7,427.18
	\$469,930.14 236,080.78	\$176,131.71 Two	\$59,949.07 o cities
			176,131.71
	\$233,849.36		\$236,080.78

In the 40's the city's police force was firmly established, but still in a primitive way. The watchmen wore no uniform. Captain William Reed, who was on the force for more than 40 years, said in 1889: "We bought our own clothes (in the early days), and our clothing had no distinguishing mark from that of the ordinary citizen, although, of course, we tried to dress comfortably. We carried clubs or sticks between two and three feet long. The beats were not extensive. One beat, for instance, was from Market to Ferry, and Fourth to the River; another from Market to Wood, and Fourth to the River. When a watchman wished to know where his fellow-watchman was, he gave three raps; the reply was one rap, and the first caller answered with one rap. This was so much as saying that everything was right. A Lieutenant, making his rounds, gave two raps and the policeman answered with one rap. If the Lieutenant wished the policeman to come to him he rapped again. The watchmen called the hour throughout the night, and also the condition of the weather. If a clear night, they would cry, for instance, 'One o'clock and a starlight morning!' If cloudy or raining, 'One o'clock and a cloudy morning!""

In 1841 the city watch consisted of John W. Young, Captain; David Fenwick, First Lieutenant; William Gibson, Second Lieutenant; David Potts, Third Lieutenant; Watchmen, James Hayden, John Davis, Charles Roberts, John McFadden, Joseph Lewis, James Duncan, Andrew McBride, John W. Dobbins, Benjamin Power, James Orr, Philip Linderman, Robert Campbell, James McFarren, William Hunter, Ezekiel Robbins, Joseph Hart, William Fife, George Scott, Matthew McCandless, William Burnison, Alex. McKeever, and John Baldwin. The High Constable was Elisha Cook, and City Constables Joseph N. McGinnis, H. Bateman and W. Hague.

The historian now comes to a singular event in the history of Pittsburghthe election of a convicted inmate of the county jail to the honorable office of Mayor in 1850. The list of Pittsburgh's chief magistrates had been one of which the city had no reason to be ashamed. Ebenezer Denny, John Darragh, John M. Snowden, Magnus M. Murray, Matthew B. Lowrie, Samuel Pettigrew, Jonas R. McClintock, William Little, William W. Irwin, James Thomson, Alexander Hay, William J. Howard, William Kerr, Gabriel Adams and John Herron had well maintained the dignity of the municipality. It is interesting to note how they came to be succeeded by Joseph Barker. Mr. Barker was a well-known character in Pittsburgh. A man of some native ability, "but very ignorant and bigoted—he stated himself that he had never been in school in his life—he conceived a violent prejudice against his fellowcitizens of the Catholic faith, and spent much of his time on Market Street and Penn Avenue inveighing in loud, offensive, and often obscene language against the ministers and members of that religion. He even assailed clergymen of other denominations because they would not join with him in his crusade. This conduct was tolerated for many months. At length the authorities interfered and Barker was arrested and indicted."

Barker called his tirades "preaching," and it was the first arrest of the sort in the state. He was tried before Judge Patton in the Court of Quarter Sessions, and was found guilty. In pronouncing sentence Judge Patton asserted emphatically that it was not a case of religious persecution. defendant, he declared, had used "language so indecent and so copious that it would have been impossible for the Attorney-General to set it out in the bill of indictment, and for the character of the present generation it is well that the records of the Court have not been employed to hand down the stain to posterity." The Judge added, addressing the defendant: "Whatever you may say or think of that large portion of your fellow-citizens whom you have made the principal, but not the exclusive, objects of your indecent assaults, the forbearance and patience they have shown during that long reign of outrage, injustice and oppression, reflect great credit on them and on the creed they profess. They had a right to expect relief from the public authorities long before it came. But they are not the only parties affected by the result of this prosecution; the peace and the welfare of the whole community were at stake. Men of all sects and of all parties, all men concerned for the peace, the morals and the reputation of our city, began to raise their hands in astonishment that such things had been so long tolerated in a Christian community."

Judge Patton then sentenced Barker to be imprisoned for twelve months in the county jail, and pay a fine of \$250, and stand committed until the fine be paid. Whatever Judge Patton may have thought, the popular belief evidently was that Barker was the victim of persecution. When election day

came in 1850, the prisoner in the county jail, not nominated by any political party, and without means or ordinary political influence, was chosen Mayor of Pittsburgh. In the language of the *Gazette* of that day, "it was astounding."

It would have been rather difficult for Mr. Barker to have performed his duties as Mayor, as he had served only two of his twelve months' sentence of imprisonment, if Governor Johnston had not intervened with a pardon. The Councils, "with an exquisite sense of humor—or something else—invited the Honorable Benjamin Patton, who had not long before sentenced Barker to jail, to administer the oath of office to the Mayor-elect."

During his one-year term of office Mayor Barker issued an order for the arrest of Bishop O'Connor, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh, upon a charge that the bishop was in his official capacity responsible for the maintenance of a nuisance in the form of a sewer connecting Mercy Hospital with a nearby city sewer. Mayor Barker insisted upon acting as judge of the case and fined the bishop \$20, at the same time declaring he would permit no appeal. The fine was paid under protest.

Mayor Barker was succeeded by John B. Guthrie, and with his election the former ordinances relative to the appointment of watchmen, which placed much authority in the Chief Magistrate of the city, were restored, and the Mayor was authorized to appoint five additional city constables. In 1852 the High Constable's salary was \$450; the total expense for city constables was \$2,000, and the night watch cost \$11,000. In February, 1852, it was ordained that the Police Committee should consist of five members, two from the Select and three from the Common Council, and that the committee should appoint one Captain, four Lieutenants, and 28 watchmen; that the committee should pass upon the bonds of the Captain, Lieutenants and watchmen, and the Mayor or any Alderman might commission them. In 1853, under Mayor Robert M. Riddle, the Mayor was directed to nominate to the Police Committee one person for Captain, four Lieutenants, and 28 persons for night watchmen. The Mayor was given power to suspend or dismiss any member of the night watch for sufficient cause, and to fill vacancies until a meeting of the Police Committee.

Mayor Riddle's experience with the Police Committee was not a happy one. Some words passing between the Mayor and Mr. Splane, a member of the Committee, at the Mayor's office, relative to the appointment of a man named Gillespie on the night watch, the Mayor ordered Mr. Splane locked up in the "Tombs," as the cells were called to which the prisoners of the watch were consigned. While measures were on foot to secure Mr. Splane's release on habeas corpus, the Mayor ordered the cell-door opened, and the captive liberated.

In 1853 an attempt was made to carry off into slavery Calvin Jones,

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a respectable colored waiter, known in Pittsburgh for over 10 years. The claim was that he had fled from a master in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1849. The evidence that Jones had been a resident of Pittsburgh before 1849 was conclusive, and the United States Commissioner discharged him. The jury in the case of Mary Delaney, tried for the murder of Jacob Shaw by killing him with a knife in a house of ill-fame at the corner of Grant Street and Virgin Alley, were kept out nine days before they agreed upon a verdict of manslaughter. The defendant was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary. In April, 1855, Policeman Ferguson, of the Pittsburgh night police, was killed and Policeman J. K. F. Jones, of the same force, severely wounded by Caspar Landparter, in Butler County, where they had gone to serve a warrant accusing Landparter, who had formerly resided in this city, of the larceny of gas.

The jealousies between rival fire companies have prompted many a disgraceful encounter, and did much in times past to mar the splendid record of the Volunteers. But fortunately, firemen were rarely inclined to carry their antagonism and anxiety for a fracas to the degree that Edward Lambert did in 1855. Lambert, a member of the Duquesne Company, was arrested on a charge of having set fire to the stable of William Phillips. He acknowledged his guilt, and said that his motive was to get the Vigilant Engine up there so as to raise a fight. As his sanity at times was more than questionable, he was leniently dealt with. The necessity for reform in both the police and fire systems was manifest, but it was not until 1857 that a decided step was taken toward effective change in the former. The Councils determined to create a permanent day force, under one head, and subject to rules and discipline, to take the place of the day constables, who possessed, as it were, a roving commission, and only half depended on the municipality for support and employment. In December, 1857, an ordinance was adopted, to take effect the following year, establishing a police department for the City of Pittsburgh, to consist of one Chief of Police and not more than nine police constables. The ordinance provided that the Chief of Police and policemen were to be appointed by the incoming Mayor as soon after his inauguration as practicable, "and to be known and act as police officers." This gave the new officers a higher standing than the night watch, of whose members only the Captain and Lieutenants were known, by ordinance at least, as "officers." It was made the duty of the Chief to see that all the laws and ordinances of the city be enforced, to cause complaint of any violation coming to his knowledge to be made to the Mayor, and see that evidence was procured for the successful prosecution of offenders. "He shall obey," said the ordinance, "and cause the policemen under him to obey the police rules and regulations which may be prescribed by the Mayor, and in case of tumult, riot, or threatening thereof, he shall take charge in person of the policemen, and direct them in the discharge of their respective duties. He shall be responsible for the efficiency and general good conduct of the Department, and shall report in writing to the Mayor all complaints made to him against any member thereof. The Mayor shall have power in case of emergency to appoint as many special police officers as may be necessary, whenever, in his opinion, circumstances make such a call expedient, and when so called into service they shall perform such duties as may be assigned them by the Mayor or Chief of Police. Whoever in the city shall resist any police officer or member of the police department in the discharge of his duty, or shall in any way interfere with, or hinder or prevent him from discharging his duty as such officer or member, or shall offer or endeavor to do so: and whoever shall in any manner assist any person in custody of any police officer or member of the police department, to escape or attempt to escape from such custody, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue any person so in custody, shall forfeit a penalty of not less than \$5, nor more than \$25. Hackmen, cabmen, omnibus drivers, draymen, porters, runners, and other persons, when at or about any railroad depot or station, or steamboat or other vessel landing, or other public place in the city, shall obey all lawful commands and directions of the police officers who may be stationed or doing duty at or about such places, for the purpose of preserving order and enforcing the laws and ordinances. Whoever shall refuse to obey the commands or directions of said officers in preserving order and enforcing the laws and ordinances shall forfeit a penalty not exceeding \$20." Any policeman neglecting or refusing to perform his duty, or "guilty of any fraud, extortion or oppression, or willful wrong or injustice," was to forfeit a penalty not exceeding \$20. Any policeman convicted before the Mayor of receiving a bribe. or illegal fee or reward, was to forfeit not exceeding \$25. The Chief and policemen were to be subject to the Mayor at all times, the Mayor having power to suspend without pay, for cause, the Chief or any policeman. The Chief and policemen were to hold office during the pleasure of the Mayor, and each to give bond in \$1,000 for the faithful performance of duty. The yearly salary of the Chief was \$550, payable quarterly, and of each policeman, \$35. payable monthly, special constables to receive the same pay as policemen. James McAuley was President of the Select Council, and Russell Errett. of the Common Council, which adopted this ordinance.

Mayor H. A. Weaver approved the ordinance on December 19, and being his own successor, and the first Mayor elected for two years, it fell to him to establish the new police. He kept the former day officers in place under the new designation, appointing as Chief of Police, Robert Hague; day police, Job G. Patterson, A. J. Moon, C. B. Bostwick, William C. Hamilton, James S. Richardson, Joseph Knox, William C. Wray, James Reed.

The ordinance of 1870, establishing a paid fire department, provided

that it should be the duty of the department, and of the police force of the City of Pittsburgh, their respective officers and men, to cooperate together in all proper ways; that the police and fire department should respectively provide for protection against fire, and for the arrest of all persons who might, at or near any fire, commit or attempt to commit any crime against the laws of the commonwealth, or violate any rule or regulation of the department, and in case of emergency the Mayor of the city was to have the same control over the firemen as over the police.

The Mayor's control over the police, while not absolute, was virtually that of a commanding officer. Appointments originated with him. It was his duty to make all nominations, subject to approval of the Police Committee, and, if the nominations were not confirmed, he should continue offering new names until the requisite number had been attained. The police were generally under his instructions and direction, and ready to carry out his orders in the enforcement of the law.

The Chief of Police, under the control of the Mayor, had the direction of the force, it was his duty to cause complaint to be made to the Mayor of every infraction of the ordinances coming to his knowledge; to take charge in person of the police, in the event of apprehended disturbance and to report to the Mayor any complaint against his subordinates.

The Captain of Police was required to keep a correct account of, and make return to the gas company, of the hours of lighting the public lamps, and the number of hours the gas had been burned, and to keep a register of the number of days or nights, or parts of days or nights actually served on regular duty by each policeman, and to certify such time to the Controller. who should authorize the Mayor to draw his warrants on the City Treasurer for the amounts due, according to the rates fixed by the Select and Common Councils.

Each Lieutenant was to keep a journal in which he should note all cases and complaints brought before him, and submit the same, with the cases each morning to the Mayor, or some one of the Aldermen in their respective districts, who should enter on the journal how each case had been disposed of; and it was also made the duty of the Lieutenant to submit the journal to the Committee on Police at each regular meeting of the same, and as much oftener as might be required.

In March, 1874, the Councils provided that the police force should consist of one Chief, one Captain, seven detectives, 17 Lieutenants, 200 patrolmen, and 10 lamp-washers, in all 236 members. In May, of the same year, it was made the duty of the Mayor to require applicants for any position on the force to make application on a blank form setting forth name, residence, nativity, age, height, occupation, and time of residence in Pittsburgh. application was to be accompanied by a statement of six respectable citizens

that they knew the applicant as a man of good moral character, correct and orderly in deportment, and not in any respect a violator of law or good order, sober, industrious, not addicted to the habitual use of intoxicating drinks, or other hurtful excesses; that he had not been guilty of or arrested for any criminal or disorderly conduct or act; that he was a man of sound integrity, and by temper, habits and manner fit to be a policeman. This application was to be addressed to the Mayor and Police Committee. Another blank was provided for replies by the applicant as to his family condition, military service, if any, etc., one question being: "Have you paid, or promised to pay any money or other consideration to any person, directly or indirectly, for any aid or influence towards procuring your appointment?" The answers were to be supported by oath or affirmation. The appointment of the officer, after he had passed the examination, was to be accompanied by a satisfactory bond for the faithful performance of duty, the bond to be signed by owners of real estate.

March 18, 1875, the salary of the Chief of Police was fixed at \$1,500 a year; Captain, \$2.60 per day; Lieutenants, \$2.50; patrolmen, \$2.25; Matthew J. Green, Chief of Police in 1868-69, had been succeeded by Robert Hague (1869-72), John Irwin (1872-75), James McCandless (1875-76), and W. M. Hartzell (1876-77).

In 1877 William C. McCarthy was Mayor for the second time, succeeding James Blackmore, and Philip Demmel was Chief of Police. About this time, in June, 1877, the Councils determined, at a most unfortunate period for the city, to reduce the police force. This stroke of costly economy was prompted by the heavy indebtedness in which the municipality found itself involved, owing to public improvements, undertaken with the idea that the expense could be saddled upon private property owners, an idea in which the judicial tribunals did not concur.

The appropriations having run out, both the police and fire departments were reduced. The number of policemen was placed at 120, to include the Chief, Captain, Lieutenants, patrolmen and lamp-washers. This virtually abolished the day police, leaving only sufficient men for night duty, and the disorganization caused by dropping from the rolls nearly one-half of the force naturally had a demoralizing influence on many who remained in the ranks. It was under these circumstances that the people of Pittsburgh were subjected to perils never equaled in an American community, and not surpassed save in the tragic scenes of Old-World barricades and revolution. This "crime wave" had its logical sequel.

The hard times which had set in with the panic of 1873 still continued throughout the country, producing social discontent and various labor troubles. These culminated in the railroad riots of 1877, which reached their greatest violence in Pittsburgh, with the weakness of the police force

and the consequent feebleness of the police administration bearing no small share of the fault for the complete control that the lawless elements gained over the city in July of that year.

The city and county police power might conceivably have prevented the shocking destruction of property and loss of life attending the Pittsburgh riots if the police force had not been permitted to fall to so low an ebb. As it was, the rioters for a time defied even the state militia, and the people of Allegheny County continued for more than a generation to carry the tax burden laid upon them by the courts in liquidation of the heavy bill for damages presented by the railroads and sustained by the courts as a lien against the county taxpayers.

Before recounting the story of the riots, it may be well to retrace our steps to deal with that strange chapter of Pittsburgh's municipal history due to the city's venture into the transportation field and the loan of city and county credit to the railroad companies.

Railroad construction had its inspiration late in the 20's and very early in the 30's, and held its hold upon the avid business and manufacturing interests of both city and tributary territory until both were comfortably within the plexus of present-day lines. Early projects involved much trial, toil and tribulation, both because of costs and community jealousies backed by most respectable influences. In August, 1827, Senator Henry Baldwin of Pittsburgh spoke warmly in a Pittsburgh meeting "on the subject of a railroad from Baltimore to Pittsburgh. He stated that the Legislature of Maryland had incorporated the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and that he believed that, owing to the importance of Pittsburgh, the company might be induced to extend its line to this city, providing the citizens desired it, and the Pennsylvania Legislature would grant it the right." Resolutions were passed, which Mr. Baldwin presented, requesting the Legislature of Pennsylvania to give the company the privilege of extending its road to Pittsburgh. Benjamin Bakewell, Walter Forward, Ross Wilkins, John S. Riddle, Charles Shaler, James S. Craft, and Michael Allen were appointed to properly memorialize the Legislature in behalf of this matter. Books were opened for subscriptions to the stock of the Washington and Pittsburgh Railroad, at the hotel of Nicholas Griffith, June 23, 1831, books to remain open six days, and \$4 were to be paid on account of each share subscribed. The commissioners signing this call were T. H. Baird, T. M. T. McKennan, James Ruple, J. K. Wilson, Isaac Leet, John Watson, John H. Ewing, Christopher Cowan, W. Lea, James Herriott, John McKee, Ross Wilkins and Francis Bailey. The project was benevolently considered, but never reached the plane of proximate maturity. Two months later Benjamin Bakewell presided at a Pittsburgh meeting called to consider a plan for the construction of a railroad from Pittsburgh to some point on the Ohio Canal. R. N. Havens

and Lewis Peterson were secretaries. The meeting was adjourned for two days, when resolutions were adopted reciting that the interests of the city demanded that immediate measures be taken to ascertain the practicability of the construction of a railroad from Pittsburgh via Beaver to the mouth of Little Beaver, thence to the "most eligible point on the Ohio Canal." Benjamin Bakewell, Gen. William Robinson, Jr., and others were named a committee to examine and report.

Again, in 1831, Pittsburgh interests were at white heat in favor of bringing a railroad into the city at once. Reports of the progress of construction of the Baltimore and Ohio from Baltimore westwardly continued to reach Pittsburgh with exasperating frequency, and almost as frequently meetings were called to urge that organization to extend construction to this city. At the meeting held in December, 1831, resolutions were passed inviting the Baltimore & Ohio to consider Pittsburgh as its western terminus. In 1832 this road had been completed to Frederick, Maryland, the pioneer project of its kind in America. July 22, 1836, Pittsburgh was influentially represented at a railway convention at Bedford, Pennsylvania, at which resolutions favoring the building of a line from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and Lake Erie were passed. Still stronger resolutions were passed at a town meeting over which Mayor McClintock presided, asking the continuation of the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and urging upon members of the Legislature from western counties to use their influence and to cast their votes in favor of an appropriation for the surveys and other preliminaries for the extension of this road. A memorial describing the difficulties that the community west of the mountains had encountered in the particular of adequate transportation, was also drawn, to be made a portion of the proceedings to be transmitted to Harrisburg.

Another railroad convention was held in Pittsburgh, December 15, 1837, to talk of a project to build a railroad west from Pittsburgh, which was of large and impressive attendance. In this year the Pittsburgh & Laughlinsville Railroad, the Pittsburgh & Connellsville Railroad, the Sunbury, Erie & Pittsburgh Railroad, the Pittsburgh & Susquehanna Railroad, the Washington & Pittsburgh Railroad, the Pittsburgh & Beaver Railroad, and the Pittsburgh-Kittanning Railroad, were either incorporated or projected. In 1838, a "strong memorial" was sent to the Legislature of Pennsylvania praying for a continuous railway from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and Beaver to Lake Erie. Pittsburgh's object was to "gain the trade of Ohio, Indiana and the Great Lakes."

In 1838 the promoters once more launched a vigorous campaign in favor of building a road from Chambersburg to Pittsburgh. At many times the effort to hurry up consideration of the plan to bring the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad to the city was renewed, but there was a growing conviction that

inducements must be offered. Hoping that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company would, if the proper incentive were furnished, extend from Cumberland to Pittsburgh, resolutions were passed at a numerously attended convention held in Pittsburgh, May 21, 1838, asking Pittsburgh city councils to subscribe \$1,000,000 to the stock of this company, provided it would build to Pittsburgh via Cumberland, Connellsville, and down the Youghiogheny and Monongahela Rivers. An intimation of cheap freight under even partial railroad transportation was given to Pittsburgh shippers when a consignment arrived here from Baltimore in May, 1838, via the Baltimore & Susquehanna Railroad and the Pennsylvania Canal at the rate of a dollar per hundredweight. Added interest in the construction of the railway from Pittsburgh to Chambersburg was given by this report, and this was increased when engineers reported that the route was easily practicable without recourse to "inclined planes." Strenuous work was given to the project of building this road, and an amendment adding \$250,000 to the appropriation bill for this purpose was passed at the session of 1839. At the same period, local and Eastern exertion was making to build a road from Pittsburgh to St. Louis, the governor of Pennsylvania having urged the Legislature to pass the legislation necessary to enable the state and its counties to cooperate in subscribing to the stock of the company building this railroad. Despite the intense activity of the citizens of Pittsburgh, and other counties desirous of better facilities, there was no responsive action by the State Legislature and, excepting the aid of all kinds given to the construction of the "Pennsylvania Central," all of the 30's and most of the precious years of the 40's were allowed to pass before Pennsylvania awoke to the value of quicker transportation. The state authorities reported the expenditures by the commonwealth of \$22,229,000 in canalizing the state. "These works," said a Pittsburgh paper of February 3, 1838, "produced a net revenue of nearly five per cent the last year which will be increased at least six per cent the present year. The money to make these improvements was procured at five per cent interest, and notwithstanding the immense amount, the state is already relieved from all burden on this great scale of improvement and at the same time reaping the immense advantage resulting from them; added to which it has increased the value of property in the state at least \$100,000,000."

However, in spite of the apparent backwardness of state endeavor, by mid-year 1840 no fewer than 36 railroads had been opened in Pennsylvania, having a total length of 850 miles, at a capital expenditure of \$15,640,450. The effort to bring the Baltimore & Ohio to Pittsburgh persisted, and those backing the project ignored opposition both personal and political, as well as pecuniary discouragement, the latter the outcome of the other two factors. When the books for subscriptions to the stock of this company were opened

June 8, 1846, 6,325 shares were taken in two days. This partiality was the reaction of Pittsburgh business men and capitalists against the "apathy of Philadelphia in withholding its consent to the construction of the Central year after year, who turned eagerly to any railroad that would give it an outlet through Baltimore or otherwise than through Philadelphia to the Atlantic." This antipathy to Philadelphia was further reflected in local refusals to subscribe for a share of "Pennsy" stock when the books were opened July 9, 1846, in Pittsburgh.

The legislative session of 1845-46 at Harrisburg was characterized by further obstructive methods of Philadelphia interests, who for many reasons were opposed to the immediate construction of the Central to Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh insisted upon the building of a "continuous line" between the two cities in order to invite the trade of the Western states to come to it, and to divert from Cleveland, Toledo and the rapidly developing cis-Mississippi states a volume of business that was annually increasing. Philadelphia feared the possibilities of Pittsburgh as a competitor, and elected to lose that portion that would naturally come to her by the construction of a railroad rather than give to her Western sister the means of growing into a city of metropolitan proportions. Pittsburgh was increasing by leaps and bounds as a manufacturing center, but was still destitute of financial backing to promote her annual advances in the producing world. Her business men keenly felt the weight of the embargo that Philadelphia was able to place upon their growth, and resented the spirit of the opposition, but in a republic not yet three-quarters of a century old, they knew and felt that they must bide their time. Meantime they were neglecting no opportunities that promised deliverance, but extended encouragement and a helping hand to all ambitious localities that were trying to build railroads toward the head of the Ohio River.

The Legislature of 1845-46 granted a charter, conditional upon going into operation within a certain time, "providing the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad failed to continue its line to Pittsburgh." It was estimated that \$10,000,000 would be needed under the charter, although the law provided for the sale of only 150,000 shares at \$50 each. This action was construed by Pittsburgh's business men as aimed against the plan of the Baltimore & Ohio to come to Pittsburgh; in other words, it was a plot of Philadelphia commercial interests to keep both roads out of Pittsburgh. Local legislators immediately asked the Legislature to reënact the law of 1828 relating to the Pittsburgh & Connellsville Railroad, and to repeal those sections of the law of 1839 conflicting with it. Pittsburgh's initiative, however, brought about the introduction of an act authorizing the Central Railroad to complete its line to Pittsburgh; also brought immediate open opposition to the construction of the Pittsburgh & Connellsville from Cumberland, because this

would appreciate the importance of Baltimore. The act incorporating the Pennsylvania Railroad was passed March 27, 1848, and Allegheny County by a vote of 14.471 to 8.266 authorized a subscription of \$1.000.000 to the stock of this company. Meantime, Gen, William Robinson, Ir., was elected President of the Pennsylvania & Ohio Railroad Company. He at once bent all of his splendid energies toward the immediate construction of this road. The moment money and the promise of money were secured construction began. This road was finished to Beaver in 1851 and its first locomotive the "Salem," was brought to Pittsburgh by the canal. Railroads multiplied thereafter; that is, many were incorporated, few were built. The veteran jurist and statesman, William Wilkins, was one of the speakers who urged public subscriptions to stock of the new railroad companies, while others almost as prominent earnestly championed all candidates for public office who favored railroad laws and appropriations. The Pittsburgh & Wheeling Railroad was incorporated in 1849; the Little Saw Mill Run Railroad was established in 1850-51 and was ready for operation in 1852; the Pittsburgh & Erie was incorporated in 1850; in 1851 Edwin M. Stanton, Lecky Harper, Harmar Denny and other Pittsburgh attorneys at a public meeting urged subscriptions to the Pittsburgh & Steubenville Railroad; in April, 1852, Allegheny County subscribed for 10,000 shares of the Allegheny Valley Railroad; the following year subscriptions of 10,000 shares were made respectively to the Chartiers Valley and the Pittsburgh & Steubenville Railroads. By 1857 the debt of Allegheny County was \$8,000,000 of which \$5,500,000 was on account of railroad underwriting.

The panicky times of 1857-58 fell heavily upon the railroads under construction in and out of Pittsburgh. The bonds issued by the County of Allegheny in aid of construction fell as much as 25 per cent in some instances, in others nearly 50 per cent below par, and were negotiated with difficulty in these two years. The Pittsburgh & Steubenville Railroad Company, it seemed, was able to realize only \$750,000 on an issue of \$1,500,000 by the county, and the Pennsylvania Legislature passed an act permitting the sale of the bonds at 25 per cent discount. The failure of Gen. William Larimer, Ir., the father and promoter of the Pittsburgh & Connellsville Railroad Company, caused a loss to the organization of over \$200,000 which resulted in some embarrassment to the company, but it was able to reach its terminal in Pittsburgh in due time. Railroad obligations in their drastic demands at this time upon the resources of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County reduced municipal credits to an unprecedented minimum. This knowledge of local affairs afflicted very many of the more sturdy citizens who had strenuously objected to the riot of expenditure and the saturnalia of spending that had attended the organization of railroads. To add to the difficulty, several cities

and counties in Pennsylvania had obligated themselves to pay interest upon the securities in case the railroad companies should default. This these pioneer railroads abundantly did, so the defaults were made good by the municipalities and counties and persons holding these bonds. In 1857 an eight-mill tax was levied for railroad obligations alone. This angered the mass of taxpayers, and soon an organization of "Repudiationists," at the head of which was the Hon. Thomas Williams, came to the front.

Because of the apparent business foolishness of maintaining parallel competing lines of transportation, as in the instances of the Pennsylvania Canal and the Central Railroad, the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1857 authorized the sale of the canal to the railroad, including the Portage Railroad, whereupon the Canal Commissioners, through the Supreme Court of the state, enjoined the state from making the transfer. The court dawdled for a time, in its action on the case, the Pennsylvania road being also under restraint by action of the courts, but soon opposition dwindled and the transfer was made. The Governor of Pennsylvania by proclamation of August 1, 1857, formally transferred to the Pennsylvania road both canal and the Portage road. To recount, Allegheny County and the two municipalities had subscribed as follows to the various railroads:

Allegheny County—in the specific amounts named: Pittsburgh & Connellsville, \$750,000; Allegheny Valley, \$750,000; Pittsburgh & Steubenville, \$500,000; Pittsburgh & Cleveland, \$150,000; Chartiers Valley, \$150,000; total, \$2,300,000.

City of Pittsburgh—Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago, \$200,000; Pittsburgh & Steubenville, \$550,000; Pittsburgh & Connellsville, \$500,000; Allegheny Valley, \$400,000; Chartiers Valley, \$150,000; total, \$1,800,000.

City of Allegheny—Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago, \$400,000. Grand total, \$4,500,000.

The outcome of the muddle caused by the city's and county's adventure in railroad finance has been thus summarized:

"The large municipal and county investments soon acted as a boomerang. The county was unable to pay the interest on the bonds issued to purchase railroad stocks, and levied an eight-mill tax for the purpose and to provide a sinking fund to pay the principal. A convention, called the County Tax Convention, met to consider the question, and a majority favored repudiation of both interest and principal of the debt. The railroads were unable to pay the interest on the bonds, and repudiation was advocated, because it was charged that subscriptions for their stock were obtained through fraud and that the law prohibiting the sale of bonds below par had been evaded by exchanging them for iron and equipment thus enabling the roads to dispose of them without difficulty. The citizens of Pittsburgh, generally, were

willing to continue paying the interest, but the balance of power in the county lay with the Repudiationists, and, accordingly, a Railway Commissioner, who could carry out their principles, was appointed. Subsequent to this, other conventions were held throughout the country, and the movement against taxation in aid of railways became general. In February, 1859, another convention, the Anti-Tax Convention, was called, and resolutions were adopted opposing the payment of both interest and principal of the county's railroad indebtedness and instructing the County Commissioner not to levy a tax for either principal or interest. Railroad control of legislators and courts was charged and the 'star chamber proceedings' of the Supreme Court in mandamus cases were declared unwarranted and unjust, and the forty-eight members of the City Councils were advised not to obey the writs of mandamus that had been served upon them to appear in Philadelphia to show cause why absolute mandamus proceedings should not be issued. The writs of mandamus were eventually obeyed, however, and the losses on the bonds were paid mostly by those who had from the first opposed the municipal subscriptions."

To revert to the railroad riots of 1877, the most complete and in fact the only official version not only of the riots themselves but of the circumstances leading up to them is contained in the report of the Joint Legislative Committee appointed to investigate the riots on behalf of the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania. This Joint Committee spent many months in its investigations and did not present its report until May 23, 1878. On that day Mr. Revburn offered the report which was read in both houses. In part, it follows:

## To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA:

The committee appointed on the 3d day of February last, by virtue of a concurrent resolution of your honorable bodies, which resolution reads as follows, viz:

"Resolved, That a committee consisting of five members of the House of Representatives and three Senators, none of whom shall be from any of the counties in which said riots occurred, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine into all the circumstances attending the late disturbance of the peace in certain parts of the Commonwealth, known as the railroad riots, and endeavor, if possible, to ascertain the causes, and by what authority the troops of the State were called out, for what purpose, and the service and conduct of the same; and said committee shall have power, in pursuing their investigations, to send for persons and papers, examine witnesses under oath or affirmation, administer oaths, and

employ a competent phonographer to take all the proceedings of the committee, and the testimony; the committee shall report in full, in writing, to the Senate and House of Representatives within twenty days, &c."

Beg leave to submit the following report, viz:

"On the 4th day of February, 1878, the committee met at Harrisburg, and organized by the election of William M. Lindsay as chairman, Samuel B. Collins as clerk and stenographer, and J. J. Cromer as sergeant-at-arms. At said meeting it was also decided to commence taking testimony, first at Pittsburgh, that being the point where the first, and by far the most serious, riots occurred.

"Your committee arrived at Pittsburgh at half-past eleven, P.M., February 5th, and on the 6th instant met at the orphans' court-room in said city, the authorities having kindly tendered the use of the same to the committee for the purposes of the investigation, and discussed the manner in which the testimony should be taken, and what class of witnesses should be subpænaed, whereupon it was decided that the chairman should conduct the examination of the witnesses generally on behalf of the committee, and that all citizens who knew any facts of importance should be subported to testify and to furnish to the committee the names of those known to possess valuable information. The taking of testimony was commenced on February 7th, and proceeded with as promptly as After a week's continuous work it became evident to the committee that they could not accomplish the work required of them and report within the time named in the above resolution. They therefore returned to the capital and presented to your honorable body a preliminary report setting forth what they had done, and what was still necessary to be done to complete the work required of them, when the following resolution was adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives:

"Resolved, (if the Senate concur), That the joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, appointed to investigate the late railroad riots, etc., be and are hereby authorized to pursue their investigations according to the plan indicated in their preliminary report, and that to this end an extension of time over and above the limitation of twenty days of the resolution under which they are acting be given and granted under this direction, that the committee make a full and thorough inquiry, and report as soon as practicable. The committee afterwards took testimony at Harrisburg, at Philadelphia, at Scranton, and at Reading, and have made as thorough an investigation of the matter submitted to them as they reasonably could. As the result of the testimony taken, your committee is of the opinion that the following state of facts has been proved, viz:

"The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, some time after the panic in



Y. M. C. A. BUILDING



1873, reduced the wages of its employés ten per cent., and on account of the general decline in business made another reduction of ten per cent., which took effect on the 1st day of June, A. D. 1877; these reductions to apply to all employés, from the president of the company down to those whose wages by the month or otherwise amounted to one dollar per day or less.

"These reductions applied not only to the Pennsylvania Railroad proper, but also to the roads which were run by the Pennsylvania Company, a corporation controlling several railroads, including the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad and the Pan Handle Railroad, each having one of its *termini* at Pittsburgh, and running these railroads in connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad, and all being practically under one management.

"These were not the only railroads in the country to reduce the wages of employés, a reduction of ten per cent. having gone into effect on the New York Central railway on the 1st day of July, A. D. 1877, and a similar reduction on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on the 16th day of July, A. D. 1877; your committee having no information as to whether or not any prior reduction had been made by the last named roads. In consequence of these reductions of wages a great deal of dissatisfaction was produced among the employés of the roads, especially those known as trainmen, consisting of freight engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, and flagmen.

"These employés had consulted together in relation to the question of wages, and as the result of these consultations, a committee had been appointed some time the latter part of May, composed principally of engineers, who waited on Thomas A. Scott, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and stated the position of the men and their alleged grievances. Colonel Scott talked frankly with the committee, and stated the position of the railroad company, which was, in substance, that in consequence of the depression in all branches of trade, commerce, and manufactures throughout the country, the business of the company had so fallen off that it became a matter of necessity to reduce the wages of the employés, and, that as soon as the business of the company would warrant it the wages would be increased. The committee expressed their satisfaction at the statement made by Colonel Scott, and said they would go back to Pittsburgh and report the same to the employés, and that everything would be satisfactory and all right thereafter. The committee retired, and soon returned with their views set forth in writing, and signed by them, stating that their conference with Colonel Scott had proved satisfactory, and that his propositions were acceptable to the committee. No complaint as to wages was made thereafter by any of

the employés of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company or of the Pennsylvania Company to any of the proper officers until after the strike of July 19th.

"Immediately after the order for the ten per cent. reduction, to go into effect on June 1st, 1877, was issued, the employés of the different railroads having their termini at Pittsburgh commenced agitating the question of a strike on account of said reduction, which agitation resulted in the organization of 'The Train Men's Union,' a secret, oath-bound society, the declared object of which was the protection of its members. in all lawful ways, by combination, but more particularly to bring the railroad companies to terms by all striking on a given day, and leaving the railroads with no men of experience to run the trains. The first meeting to organize a lodge of the society was held in Allegheny City, on the 2d day of June, A. D. 1877, and the first person to take the oath of membership was R. A. Ammon, better known as 'Boss Ammon,' then a brakeman on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago railroad, who had been in the employ of the company about nine months. Boss Ammon seems to have been the leading spirit of the society, and he was immediately appointed as general organizer, to go out and organize branches of the Union on all the leading trunk lines of the country. especially on those centering at Pittsburgh. In a short time the Union was in full working order on the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the New York Central Railroad, the Erie Railway, and the Atlantic and Great Western Railway, and some others, and a general strike by the members of the Union was arranged to take place on the 27th of June. A. D. 1877, at twelve o'clock, noon. The report of the committee of engineers of the result of their conference with Colonel Scott was not satisfactory to the members of the Union, they believing, or at least saying, that the engineers were only looking after their own interests and taking care of themselves, and therefore the action of the committee did not arrest the preparations going on within the Union for the proposed strike. Allegheny City was the headquarters of the organization, and it was here that the general arrangements for the operations of the Union were perfected, the members claiming that at least three fourths of all the train men, whose headquarters were at the two cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, belonged to the organization. The proposed strike on the 27th of June was to take place on the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, the Allegheny Valley Railroad, Pan Handle Railroad, and the branches of the roads named, the Union having been more thoroughly and better organized on these roads than on any others, and the movements were to be directed from Allegheny City. Other roads were to be brought into the strike as fast as possible, so as to make it general and comprehensive.

"In accordance with this plan of operations, on Sunday, June 24th, some forty members of the Union were sent out on the different lines centering at Pittsburgh, to notify the members on these roads of the time for the strike to take place, and to make the necessary arrangements to make it a success. On Monday night, June 25th, a meeting of the members of the Union on the Pan Handle division was held, and it was there developed that a portion of them were dissatisfied with the proposed strike, and trouble ensued on this account. It was also ascertained that some member or members had divulged the plans of the Union to the railroad officials, and that the latter were taking measures to counteract and defeat the strike. The moving spirits saw at once that with divided counsels, and their plans known to the railroad officials, the strike, if commenced, would prove a failure, and measures were at once adopted to prevent it from taking place by writing and sending word to all points possible in the short time left. The strike did not take place on the 27th, and the members of the Union felt as if they had met with a defeat, which left a sore spot in their bosoms, and which rankled for a long time. It may be well to state here that the subsequent strike on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, at Martinsburg, West Virginia, on the 16th of July and the strike at Pittsburgh, on July 19th, was not a strike of the Trainmen's Union, nor did the Union as an organization, have anything to do with either, there having been no meeting of the society either at Pittsburgh or Allegheny City, after the 27th of June, 1877, up to that time. The main and almost the only ground for the proposed strike was the ten per cent, reduction of wages, although some complaint was made of the abuse of power and overbearing actions of the minor railroad officials. Some time in July, 1877, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company issued an order that all freight trains from Pittsburgh east to Derry should be run as 'double-headers,' the order to take effect on the 19th of that month.

"A so called 'double-header' consists of thirty four cars, and is hauled by two engines, a single train consisting of seventeen cars, hauled by one engine. This was one of the measures of economy adopted by the company in consequence of the great reduction in business, caused by the financial situation of the country, and the reduced rates at which the business was done, caused by the great competition of the different railroads to secure business, and would enable the company to dispense with the services of one half of their freight conductors, brakemen, and flagmen on the Pittsburgh division of the road between that place and Derry, as only one set of men, aside from the engineers

and firemen, were used on a 'double-header.' One engine could haul the same train from Derry to Philadelphia that it took two engines to haul from Pittsburgh to Derry. 'Double-headers' had been previously run between these two points, especially coal trains, but no general order for all freight trains to run as 'double-headers' had ever before been issued. In selecting men to discharge under the order to run 'double-headers,' single men, and men who had been the shortest time in the employ of the company, were chosen, and the men with families, and old men, were kept so far as they could be. Quite a number of men had been discharged by the company prior to this time, some for cause, and more on account of the decrease in business since the panic of 1873; and the company had still in its employ many more men than could be employed at full time, keeping them along and allowing them each to work a portion of the time, probably believing in the old adage that 'half a loaf is better than no bread.'

"Robert Pitcairn, the general agent and superintendent of the Pittsburgh division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, had leave of absence for a short time, to commence on the 19th of July, and that morning he left for the East with his family, over the Pennsylvania Railroad, no complaint, as he says, having been made to the officers of the company by the men. on account of the order to run 'double-headers,' and he having no knowledge or suspicion that any trouble was brewing or expected. The early morning freight trains left Pittsburgh as 'double-headers,' but when the time (8.40 A.M.) came for the next train to leave, the men (two brakemen and one flagman) refused to go out on a 'doubleheader," and the train did not go. The conductor notified the dispatcher that the men had struck, and the dispatcher undertook to find men who would go, but all the train men refused. He then made up two crews from the yard men, and gave orders for the engine to back down and couple on the train, when the striking men, led by one Andrew Hice, threw coupling pins and other missiles at the brakeman who was attempting to couple on the engine, one of which hit him, and, in the words of one witness, he had to run for his life. There were some twenty or twenty-five men in the crowd at this time; all men in the employ of the railroad company. The strikers took possession of the switches over which the trains would have to move, and refused to let any train pass out, and their number was from this time gradually increased by the addition of the men who came in on freight trains, who were induced to join the strikers as fast as they came in. Between ten and eleven o'clock, A.M., David M. Watt, chief clerk of the Pittsburgh division, who was acting in place of Mr. Pitcairn in his absence, went to the mayor's office and asked for ten policemen to be sent up to the yard of the company. to protect the men who were willing to go out on the trains, and arrest any one who should commit a breach of the peace, telling the mayor that, in his opinion, ten good men, with his (the mayor's) presence, would be sufficient for the purpose.

"The mayor answered that he did not have the men; that the day force, with the exception of nine men, had some time previously been discharged by the action of the city council, and he could not send the night men. The mayor refused to go himself, saving he had other business, and it was not necessary for him to be there. He said, however, that they might get some of the discharged men to go, if Mr. Watt would become responsible for their pay, to which Mr. Watt assented and the ten men were found, sent out under charge of officer Charles McGovern. This force went along with Mr. Watt to the Twenty-eighth street crossing, the scene of the difficulty, and five of the police were placed at one switch just above Twenty-eighth street, and Officer McGovern with the balance took possession of a switch just below Twenty-eighth street. An engine was there ready to back down and couple on to the train and Mr. Watt gave orders to one of his men to open the switch, so the engine could run down on the proper track, but the man refused, saying he was afraid he would be injured by the strikers if he did so. Mr. Watt then stepped up and said, 'I will open the switch,' when a brakeman by the name of Davis stepped in front of him, and said, 'Boys we might as well die right here,' and made some demonstrations. At this moment a man named McCall, standing behind Davis, struck Mr. Watt in the eye; that ended the attempt to open the switch at that time. After some difficulty and considerable chasing, McCall was arrested by the police, and taken to the lock-up. At this time, between twelve and one o'clock, P. M., there were about one hundred persons in the crowd, about one half of whom were mere spectators. Twenty-five or thirty of the strikers attempted to prevent McCall's arrest by dodging around in the way, and by coaxing the police to let him alone. A few stones were thrown, but no very serious efforts were made beyond this by the strikers at this time. Soon after this, Mr. Watt sent one of his men to the mayor's office for fifty more policemen, and in answer to this call some five or six men came out about one, P. M., in charge of Officer White. With these men, Mr. Watt went out to the stock-yards, at Torrens station, a distance of five and one tenth miles from the Union depot, to see if the stock trains at that place, which had been some time loaded, could be got off.

"At this place there was a large crowd of persons, the majority of whom were either present employés of the railroad company or were discharged men, and others were unknown to the railroad officials. One train of stock was coupled on by the yard engine, and run out by stratagem before the crowd were aware that it was an attempt to send the train east, and this was the last freight train that was forwarded, until after the troubles were over. About four, P. M., another attempt to move a stock train from Torrens was made, but the engineers all refused to undertake to couple on to the train, as they had all been threatened by the strikers, and were afraid of their lives, and at any move made by the engineer the crowd would interfere, so that the crew gave up their trains. Mr. Watt returned to Pittsburgh, and the stock was unloaded. Mr. Watt, on his return to Pittsburgh, went again to the mayor's office, about five, P. M., and asked for one hundred or one hundred and fifty police. The mayor was not in, having gone, as he testified, to Castle Shannon, to see his wife, who was sick. The mayor's clerk was at the office, and informed Mr. Watt that the men could not be furnished, that the day force of nine men in all were all busy, that the night force, which consisted of one hundred and twenty-two men, were not vet on duty, and could not be spared to be sent out to the scene of the disturbances, as they must be kept in the thicker portions of the city. He advised Mr. Watt to call on the sheriff of the county for assistance. On Friday morning, July 20, A. J. Cassatt sent David Stewart, of Pittsburgh, to invite the mayor to come to the Union depot, as he wished to consult him in regard to the situation, and had sent a carriage to convey him to the depot. The mayor replied that he would have nothing to do with it; the whole matter was taken out of his hands; they had no business to bring troops there. Mr. Stewart asked him if he would see Mr. Cassatt, provided the latter came down to the mayor's office. His answer was: 'No. I will have nothing to do with it,' and he turned and left. It will be noticed that this was some time before any troops were brought there, and a day and a half before the Philadelphia troops arrived. This ended the call, by the railroad officials, on the mayor for assistance to disperse the crowd interfering with their property, although, on that day, warrants were placed in the hands of the police for the arrest of some fifteen or twenty of the ringleaders of the strike, and after this time there does not appear to have been any very serious attempt made by the mayor or police to assist in quelling the riots. The whole extra force raised by the mayor, as testified to by J. J. Davis, clerk of the chief of police, for whom bills were sent in for pay, was twentynine men.

"During the afternoon of the 19th of July, one or two attempts were made to start freight trains from Twenty-eighth street, but when the engine was started some of the crowd would step in front of it, swing their hands, and the engineer would leave his engine, and soon all efforts to start trains from this place were abandoned for that day. Although the engineers and firemen and some of the conductors and brakemen professed to be willing to run at any time, yet, on the slightest demonstration being made by any of the strikers, they would abandon their engines and trains without making one decent effort to do their duty. The railroad officials claimed that they had plenty of men willing to run out the trains if they only had the opportunity, but when the opportunity was made for them the men did not care to take advantage of it. In the meantime the crowd was increasing at Twenty-eighth street, and Mr. Watt, after he left the mayor's office, went to the sheriff's office, and not finding him there drove to his residence, but he was not there. It was ascertained that he would be back in the course of the evening, and Mr. Watt returned to his own office.

"The crowd had so increased at the Twenty-eighth street crossing that they had full possession of the railroad tracks there, and the yard engines could not be moved to transfer the cars in the yard from place to place, so orders were given to the engineers to put up their engines. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, P. M., Mr. Watt started for the sheriff's residence, and on his way called at the office of Honorable John Scott, solicitor for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, to have that gentleman go with him. The sheriff was at home, and they called on him for protection for the property of the company, and advised him of all that had taken place up to that time. The sheriff went with them to the outer depot, near Twenty-sixth street, where they found General Pearson, who had come to Mr. Pitcairn's office to ascertain the condition of affairs, so as to report the same to Adjutant General Latta, who had telegraphed him from Philadelphia, making inquiry if he knew anything of the disturbances on the Pennsylvania railroad. Governor Hartranft was at that time out of the State, and somewhere in the West, on his way to California, and before going had given instructions to Adjutant General Latta, that in case of trouble requiring the presence of the military, he must, on the requisition of the proper civil authorities, assume the responsibility, and act as occasion demanded.

"A little after midnight the sheriff, accompanied by Gen. Pearson, Mr. Watt, and some fifteen or twenty railroad employés, walked out to Twenty-eighth street, and there getting up on a gondola or flat car so as to be above the crowd, addressed them, advising them to disperse and go to their homes, stating to them his duty in case they refused. The crowd refused to disperse, and hooted and yelled at the sheriff, and fired pistol shots in the air while he was addressing them. They told the sheriff to go home, that they were not going to allow any freight trains to leave until the difficulty between them and the railroad company was settled, that the mayor and policemen were on their side, and that prominent citi-

zens had offered to assist them in provisions and money to carry on the strike. It should be here stated that there is no proof that any such offers of assistance were actually made, except that tradesmen with whom the strikers were dealing offered to trust them until they got work again, and one prominent citizen, whose name was used by the mob, came forward and testified that he had never made any such offer. Some of the mob also read messages purporting to come from other places, urging them to hold their ground, and assistance in men and means would be sent them. There is no means of ascertaining whether these messages were really sent as they purposed to be, or were only bogus ones, used for the purpose of firing up the mob, and inducing them to hold out in their purpose. They were probably bogus, and they, without doubt, produced the effect intended by their authors. At this time the crowd numbered some two hundred men and boys, and was composed of some railroad men, some discharged men, quite a number of mill men, (that is men from the iron mills, glass factories, &c.), and some strangers as they were called by the witnesses, repulsive, hard looking men, probably tramps and criminals, who always flock to a scene of disturbance like vultures to the carrion. The sheriff, as he testifies, becoming satisfied that he could not raise force sufficient to control the crowd, made a call on the Governor, by telegraph, for military to suppress the riot. The sheriff at this time had made no effort whatever to raise a posse to disperse the mob, and in view of subsequent developments it is probable that such an effort would have been futile. The copy of the telegram of the sheriff to the Governor is given in the report of the Adjutant General for 1877, as are also copies of all other telegrams sent and received by him during the troubles, and most of them in the evidence taken by your committee, and therefore they need not be copied here.

"In view of the absence of the Governor, the telegram was also sent to the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and the Adjutant General, the one to the latter reaching him at Lancaster on his way to Harrisburg. General Latta immediately telegraphed General Pearson, who held the rank of major general and commanded the Sixth division, National Guard, with headquarters at Pittsburgh, to assume charge of the military situation, place one regiment on duty, and if he found one regiment not sufficiently strong, to order out the balance of the division and to report generally. General Pearson immediately ordered out the Eighteenth regiment, Colonel P. N. Guthrie, and this order was soon followed by one ordering out the Fourteenth regiment, Colonel Gray, the Nineteenth regiment, Colonel Howard, and Hutchinson's battery in command of Captain Breck. These orders were responded to very slowly, as it was in the night time, when the men were scattered about the city, and

some companies were made up of men at some little towns outside of the city. Colonel Guthrie resides at East Liberty, and received his orders about half past four, A. M., on the 20th. He at once notified his officers, and they notified the men, but as it was too early to be able to get messengers the colonel had to go personally to the officers and it was about twelve o'clock, noon, when the regiment reported at the Union depot hotel two hundred and fifty strong. This regiment was ordered out to Torrens Station to protect property and clear the track at the stock yards, and on its arrival there, at half past one, found a crowd of from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred persons assembled. The regiment had no difficulty in getting into proper position, and Colonel Guthrie then lav in position waiting further orders. It was understood between General Pearson and Colonel Guthrie that the Fourteenth and Nineteenth regiments and the battery should clear the track at Twentyeighth street, and protect the men on the trains in getting them started, and that Colonel Guthrie should clear the track at Torrens and protect the trains in passing that place. The Fourteenth and Nineteenth regiments assembled very slowly, and it was not until about five P. M., that General Brown, commanding the brigade, got together three or four companies, but these not half full, and marched out to Twenty-eighth street. Before taking a position there, he received orders from General Pearson to return to the Union depot, as he had not force sufficient to accomplish anything, and accordingly he returned with his command.

"In the meantime, General Pearson, fearing that the majority of the men in these regiments sympathized with the strikers, telegraphed Adiutant General Latta to that effect, and suggested that troops from Philadelphia should be sent on, and gave it as his opinion that two thousand troops would be needed to disperse the mob, as it was now (six thirty-five, P.M.,) very large (four thousand to five thousand men) and increasing hourly. General Latta at once telegraphed Major General Brinton, commanding the First division of the National Guard, at Philadelphia, to get his command ready to move to Pittsburgh. General Brinton received this order in the evening, and at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st he had six hundred men at the railroad depot ready to start. At Harrisburg, General Brinton received some ammunition and two Gatling guns, and reached Pittsburgh at one, P. M., and reported to General Latta at the Union depot hotel, and there distributed twenty rounds of ammunition to his men. In order to understand the situation of things and the future movements of the troops, a description of the depots, buildings, tracks, and surroundings of the Pennsylvania railroad property at Pittsburgh is here necessary. The Union depot was situated between Seventh and Eighth streets, and from this place the line of the railroad ran

eastwardly, at the foot of a steep bluff, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high on the right, and with Liberty street on the left. There were a great number of tracks running side by side out to and some distance beyond Twenty-eighth street, with numerous switches in order that the tracks might be used conveniently, and many of these tracks were filled with cars, passenger and baggage cars near the depot, and freight cars further out. The outer depot, lower round house, machine shops, &c., were situated at and near Twenty-sixth street, about a mile from the Union depot, some other shops were scattered along there to Twenty-eighth street, near which street was what was called the upper round-house. From Twenty-eighth street down to the Union depot the tracks were several feet higher than Liberty street, and a strong wall was built up at the side of Liberty street to support the embankment and keep it from caving into the street. At Twenty-eighth street there was a crossing much used, the bluff not being as steep or as high here as it is further down, and the hill is ascended by a diagonal road or path from the crossing.

"About two o'clock, A. M., of the 21st, the Nineteenth regiment and Breck's battery were sent out to Twenty-eighth street, the battery to take a position at the foot of the bluff, near the crossing, and the regiment a position on the side hill, a little above and commanding the crossing. About four, A. M., of the same day, the Fourteenth regiment was sent out, and ordered to take a position higher up the hill, and above the Nineteenth regiment, and the orders given by General Pearson were to hold this position, and keep the Twenty-eighth street crossing and the tracks in the vicinity clear of the crowd. This Twenty-eighth street crossing was the gathering point of the mob, and but very little effort seems to have been made during the day (the 21st) to carry out General Pearson's order. A few times in the forenoon one or two companies were ordered down, across the tracks at the crossing, and back again, and for the time would clear away the crowd in their immediate path, but as no effort was made to hold the crossing, nor to clear the tracks on each side of it, the effort amounted to nothing, and when the soldiers went back to their position on the hill the crowd would again resume possession of the ground cleared. The soldiers also fraternized with the mob. Most of the time their arms were stacked, and they were mingled indiscriminately with the crowd, lying about on the ground talking with them, and when, about four, P. M., the Philadelphia troops were marched out to Twenty-eighth street, a dense crowd filled the Twenty-eighth street crossing and vicinity, and was so mixed up with soldiers that no lines of regiments or companies could be observed, and it was with difficulty that soldiers could be discovered at all. On the morning of the 20th warrants had been issued for the arrest of some fifteen or twenty of the ringleaders of the strikers, and were placed in the hands of police officer McGovern and his men to be executed. His orders were not to attempt to execute the warrants in the crowd, as they were excited. and a collision might be provoked, and if arrests were made at all they must be made quietly. If the opportunity for quiet arrests occurred, it was not taken advantage of, for no arrests were made, and no attempts seem to have been made to spot the men, or ascertain their whereabouts, or to do anything towards executing the warrants while they were in the hands of the officers. On the morning of the 21st, bench warrants for the arrest of the same persons were issued by Judge Ewing, and these were placed in the hands of Constable Richardson, who called on the sheriff for a posse to assist in making the arrests. The sheriff sent out ten of his deputies to raise a posse for the purpose, and the deputies claim they were vigilant and thorough in their efforts to find men willing to serve, but were unable to raise any considerable number of persons. All sorts of excuses were made, and not over ten persons in all responded. No peremptory summons or call, such as it was his right and duty to make, was ever issued by the sheriff, and, as testified by him, when he reached the Union depot with his deputies and posse, a short time before the Philadelphia troops arrived, all but six of his posse had left.

"On Saturday it is the custom for the different mills and shops at Pittsburgh and vicinity to shut down about noon, or soon after; and on that eventful Saturday, July 21st, those in the neighborhood of the Twenty-eighth street crossing saw the crowd at that point suddenly and largely increased soon after the hour for shutting down the mills. A prominent manufacturer of Pittsburgh was at the Union depot on Saturday, about the time of the arrival of the Philadelphia troops, and had a talk with Mr. A. J. Cassatt, third vice president of the Pennsylvania railroad, and, in this conversation, told him that Saturday was an idle day with their workmen in Pittsburgh, and that it would be great wisdom in him to wait until Monday, when the laboring men would be at their work, before attempting to open the road; that it was natural that their home troops should sympathize with the strikers, and they could not be fully depended on in case of a riot. Mr. Cassatt refused to give any directions to delay the movements of the military, saying they had already lost a great deal of time, and it was the duty of the government to put them in possession of their property at once. General Brinton, with his command, arrived at Pittsburgh at three, P. M., and, after being furnished with coffee and sandwiches at the Union depot, the troops were marched out along the tracks to the Twenty-eighth street crossing. Before starting from the depot, General Brinton gave orders that the mob must not be fired upon, even if they spat in the soldiers' faces, but if attacked, however, the soldiers must defend themselves.

"The plan adopted for the afternoon's operations was for a portion of the Philadelphia troops to take possession of the premises of the rail-road company at and in the vicinity of Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth streets, where the freight trains that had been prepared to send out stood, and clear this portion of the tracks from the crowd, so that when the tracks and switches at Twenty-eighth street were cleared and put in possession of the company, the trains could at once be moved, as the engineers and men were said to be ready to start with the trains. The balance of the Philadelphia troops were to move up to Twenty-eighth street and coöperate with the Pittsburgh troops in clearing the tracks at that point, and when this was done the trains were to be started, and after a few trains had been run out it was believed that the strike would be broken up; that the strikers would see the futility of trying to resist the law when backed up by the military, and would give up the contest.

"The sheriff and his deputies (he had no posse to speak of) started from the Union depot towards Twenty-eighth street, to execute the warrants in the hands of Constable Richardson, a little in advance of the Philadelphia troops, but were delayed on the way out, somewhat, by looking after men, and before arriving at Twenty-eighth street, were overtaken by the troops, but no arrests were made by them. The second division, in command of Brigadier General E. De C. Loud, was left on Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth streets, with orders to disperse the crowd at that point and protect the employés in starting the trains. The order was promptly executed by throwing out skirmish lines and clearing the tracks in the vicinity of the trains. The first division brigade, under the command of General E. W. Mathews, and the battery of Gatling guns, all under command of General Brinton, marched out to near the Twenty-eighth street crossing. The command marched out by column far into the crowd as far as possible, and then General Brinton gave the command to wheel into line by the right flank, which brought one line lengthwise of the tracks, below the Twenty-eighth street crossing, facing Liberty street, and another line was formed parallel with the first, on the opposite side of the tracks facing the hill. The crowd was ordered to disperse by the sheriff, and he was answered by hoots, jeers, and rough language. The move made by the troops had cleared the tracks between the two lines, and the crowd now began forcing itself down from Twenty-eighth street, between the lines formed each side of the tracks. General Brinton ordered two companies to form across the tracks at right angles with the two lines already formed, and between them.

facing Twenty-eighth street, and to march up and press the crowd back and clear the crossing. The sheriff and his deputies had been in front up to this time, but they now took a position in rear of the two companies. General Pearson had been with the command until this time, when, seeing the size of the crowd, and its determination, he went back to Mr. Pitcairn's office to telegraph General Latta, for the purpose of having more troops ordered to the place. The two companies, in carrying out their orders, marched up against the crowd, with their pieces 'arms port,' and endeavored to press them back in this way, but no impression could be made on them. General Mathews, at this juncture, seeing, as he said, that the mob was firm and determined, and would not bear temporizing with, gave his men orders to load.

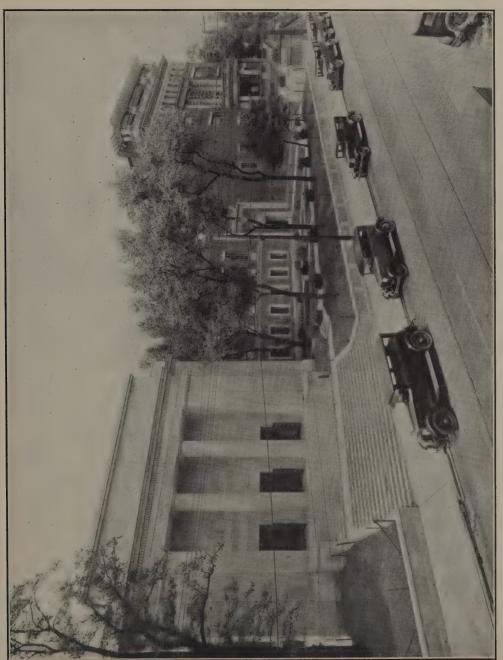
"The two companies were then ordered to charge bayonets; many of their guns were seized and some of the bayonets nearly twisted off, but no impression was made on the crowd. While these movements were being made, the mob was becoming more and more noisy, defiant and boisterous, and were throwing stones and other missiles at the troops, several of the latter having been hit, and one or two seriously injured. Several pistol shots were also fired by the crowd, and immediately after the pistol shots the troops commenced firing on the mob. The firing was scattering, commencing at a point near where the pistol firing took place, and running along the line in a desultory manner, until it became almost a volley for a moment. The officers ordered the firing to cease, and stopped it very soon. There is a conflict in the evidence as to whether or not an order was given the troops to fire, but the great weight of the testimony is that no such order was given. The most of those who testify that such an order was given, say it was given by General Pearson, but General Pearson was not present when the firing took place, being at the superintendent's office. Every person, however, from General Pearson down, who expressed an opinion on the subject, says that an order to fire was justified and should have been given, and the officers in command say that the order would have been given very soon. The firing had the effect to disperse the crowd at once, they scattering in all directions, and leaving the troops in full possession of the Twenty-eighth street crossing and the tracks in the vicinity. Several persons were killed and wounded, and as is usually the case, a number of innocent people suffered. The coroner held inquests on the bodies of twenty-two persons in all, nearly all of whom were killed by the soldiers at this time at Twenty-eighth street, but a few were killed the following night and Sunday morning at or near Twenty-sixth street. The number cannot be ascertained with any certainty, but several were seriously injured. It is believed, by those best situated to know the facts, that a number of the mob were secretly disposed of or taken care of by their friends, and whose names have never been given. If men had been ready and willing to man the trains, they could have been sent out after the dispersal of the crowd, but the occurrence at Twenty-eighth street seems to have thrown everybody into confusion, and, as usual, the engineers and train men were glad to find some excuse for not going. No attempt seems to have been made to move the trains, which were supposed to be ready at Twenty-sixth street, and the cars remained there until they and their contents were burned. The troops remained on the ground from the time of the firing (about five, P. M.) until about dusk, when they were ordered, by General Pearson, to move into the lower round-house and machine-shop, near Twenty-sixth street, and remain for the night, as all attempts to move trains had been abandoned, and the troops needed rest and food.

"The crowd had come together again gradually, in the vicinity of the Twenty-eighth street crossing, but whenever the troops made any move toward them, they would scatter, and when the troops marched into the lower round-house and machine-shop, the mob took possession of, and had full sway again at the crossing. General Pearson had ordered the Fourteenth and Nineteenth regiments to go down and take possession of the transfer depot as it was called, about two hundred vards below the lower round-house, and these regiments marched down there about the time that General Brinton's command went into the round-house and machine-shop. Colonel Gray, at request of Colonel Howard, assumed command at the transfer depot, and held possession until about ten P. M., when General Brown came and told Colonel Gray that the place was untenable, and could not be held; that he had information which made it necessary for them to get out, and ordered the command to go to the Union depot. Colonel Gray had been disgusted at the order to leave the side hill above the Twenty-eighth street crossing, thinking it a great mistake, and was also disgusted at the order to move down to the Union depot. Colonel Gray received orders from General Brown to disband his command, and at once called around him his officers, and protested. He said the order was disgraceful, with the mob in force in the vicinity, and they shouldn't desert the Philadelphia troops, but the order was obeyed, and the men dispersed to their homes, carrying their guns with them; about eleven P. M., General Brown testified, prominent citizens and military men had advised him that it was best to disband these troops, that their being kept under arms aggravated and exasperated the mob, and that this advice coincided with his opinion, and therefore the order was given. About two hundred men were present at the time they were disbanded, nearly as many more having left from time to time. during the day and evening, and it is General Brown's opinion, that they were absent on account of their sympathy with the strikers, and not on account of fear. When these troops marched down to the transfer depot, the mob did not jeer or rail at them, as they did at all times at the Philadelphia troops, and it does not seem from the evidence, that anything had been done by them to aggravate or exasperate the mob in the least. General Pearson entered the round-house with General Brinton's command, and left them about half past eight, to see about getting provisions for the men, who had received no regular meal since leaving Philadelphia. They had been furnished with coffee and sandwiches at Altoona, and the same at Pittsburgh.

"On leaving, General Pearson gave General Brinton orders to hold the position until he returned, which he thought would be within an hour. On reaching Union depot General Pearson was informed that the mob was very much exasperated against him, as they held him responsible for the firing on them by the troops, and was advised by General Latta and others that his presence would still further aggravate the crowd, and that he had better retire to some place of safety until the excitement was over. which advice was followed, and he therefore did not return to General Brinton. The effort to provision General Brinton's troops was a failure, as the mob seized, used, and destroyed the food which was sent out for the purpose. The round-house and machine-shop overlooked Liberty street on one side, on the other side were the tracks, many of them filled with cars, and near the machine-shop were piles of lumber and materials used in repairs. Pickets were put out on this side of the machine-shop so as to prevent the mob from taking shelter behind the piles of lumber, and firing on the troops from these places. The mob had broken into two or three gun stores in the city between eight and nine o'clock that evening, and had, by this means, secured guns and ammunition, and soon after dark commenced firing on the round-house and machine-shops, firing in at the windows and at any soldiers they could get sight of, one of the mob firing an explosive bullet, which the troops could see explode every time it struck anything in their vicinity.

"Two of the soldiers were wounded, one in the arm and one in the leg, during the night, which is all the casualties that occurred among them until after they left the round-house and shop in the morning. About ten o'clock P. M., the mob began setting fire to the cars, and running them down the track nearest the round-house, in order, if possible, to set it on fire, and thus drive out the troops. From some distance above Twenty-eighth street to below Twenty-sixth street it is down grade. and the cars will run of their own gravitation, on being started, down to and below the buildings in which the troops were located. The first car fired was a car of coal and, after being set on fire, it was started on the down grade with one of the mob on it, and he, on arriving at the round-house, broke up the car and stopped it. Other cars were fired and run down against the first one, and there was soon a string of fire the whole length of the shops on the side next the tracks. The round-house was well supplied with water, and the troops were enabled to keep the fire from communicating with the buildings during the night.

"About one o'clock, on the morning of the 22d, (Sunday,) it was discovered that the mob had a field piece on Liberty street, ready to fire on the round-house. Under orders Gen. Brinton's men were stationed at the windows ready to fire, and the mob were notified to abandon the gun and not attempt to fire it, or they would be fired on. They paid no attention to the warning, and when one of them was seen with the lanyard in his hand ready to discharge the piece, orders were given the troops to fire, and several of the mob fell, and the rest ran away. Several attempts were made by the mob during the night to creep up and discharge the gun, but the soldiers kept close watch on it and allowed them no opportunity to do so. General Brinton succeeded in communicating with General Latta during the night by sending out one of his men, Sergeant Joseph F. Wilson, who, by disguising himself, succeeded in getting out and back twice, but would not undertake it again. He brought orders from General Latta to hold on as long as possible, that Guthrie had been ordered to report to him, and ought to reach him at five or six o'clock, but if compelled to escape at last, to do so to the eastward, to take Penn avenue if possible, and make for Colonel Guthrie, at Torrens. The scout, Wilson, brought in the last dispatch about two o'clock, A. M., the 22d, and this was the last communication that reached General Brinton while in the round-house. The ordeal through which these men passed that night was fearful. Tired, hungry, worn out, surrounded by a mob of infuriated men, velling like demons, fire on nearly all sides of them, suffocated and blinded by smoke, with no chance to rest, and but little knowledge of what efforts were being made for their relief, with orders not to fire on the mob unless in necessary self defense, the wonder is that they were not totally demoralized; but the evidence of all the officers is that the men behaved like veterans, obeyed all orders cheerfully and with promptness, and during the whole night but one company manifested any spirit of insubordination. This company proposed to lay down their arms and quit, as they were not allowed to use them on the mob, while the latter were taking every opportunity of shooting down the soldiers. This insubordination was quickly brought to an end as soon as the attention of the proper officer was called to it, and when the troops marched out in the morning, no one could tell by their actions which of



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the men had wavered during the night. About half-past seven, Sunday morning, the 22d instant, the machine-shop caught fire in many places, the roof of the round-house also was on fire, and it became necessary to evacuate the buildings. The two Napoleon guns could not be removed, and were spiked, and about eight, A. M., the command marched out into the street in good order, taking their Gatling guns with them. The mob scattered in every direction at sight of the troops coming out, and no attempt was made to molest the soldiers until they began their march eastward by Penn avenue, in pursuance of the orders received from General Latta.

"After marching two or three squares, the troops were harassed by a fire, in their rear. They were fired at from second story windows, from the corners of the streets, and from every place where one of the mob could fire from under cover so as to be safe himself from a return fire. They were also fired at from a police station, where eight or ten policemen stood in uniform, as they passed, and when they were a convenient distance from the station, shots were fired at them from the crowd there assembled. It is hard to believe charges of this kind, but the evidence is too positive and circumstantial to leave room for doubt. At one point, just before reaching the United States arsenal, there was some confusion among the men in the rear of the column, caused by an attack by the mob that was following up, and a halt was made, and the Gatling guns used on the attacking party, which dispersed them, and this ended all attacks on the troops. In this retreat, three of the soldiers were killed and several wounded, one of whom, Lieutenant Ashe, died a few days afterwards, at the United States arsenal. On arriving at the arsenal several of the soldiers climbed over the fence, into the grounds, and General Brinton called on the commandant, Major Buffington, for leave to feed and shelter his troops there. General Brinton and Major Buffington disagreed as to what occurred between them at that time, which question of veracity the purposes of this report does not require us to decide, but General Brinton is corroborated by the testimony of one of his officers, and Major Buffington has no corroborating witness. The result of the conference was, that General Brinton and his well men went on, while his wounded were left, and well cared for, at the arsenal. General Brinton, hearing nothing from Colonel Guthrie, continued his march out to and through Sharpsburg, and finally brought up in the vicinity of the work-house, and encamped on the grounds near that institution, where he was furnished with rations for his men, and gave them a chance to get the rest they so much needed. These rations reached General Brinton's command during Sunday afternoon, through the personal exertions of A. J. Cassatt, who, from the time of the occupation of the round-house by the troops, had been unwearied in his endeavors to get provisions to them. The command was also furnished with blankets and other necessary camp equipments, by Colonel Thomas A. Scott, who had also been vigilant in looking after the welfare of the men, and all necessary transportation needed on their behalf, after their departure from Philadelphia unprepared for a campaign, on account of the brief notice given them. To these two gentlemen, the friends of the National Guard owe a debt of gratitude for the personal interest taken by them, at all times, during the campaign, to render any service that lay in their power to make the men comfortable.

"The destruction of the railroad property by the mob had been continued all night, the cars and goods contained in them that could not be carried off being burned as fast as they could be broken open, the goods thrown out and the cars set on fire. Crowds of men, women, and children were engaged in the work of pillage, and everything portable, of any value, was seized as fast as thrown from the cars, and carried away and secreted. One feature of the riot at Pittsburgh is new in this country. A large number of women were in the crowd at Twentyeighth street, on Saturday, the 21st instant, and according to testimony, they talked to the sheriff, and others who tried to get the crowd to disperse, worse than the men, used viler epithets, and more indecent language, and did everything in their power to influence and excite the mob to resistance. They also, during Saturday night and Sunday, brought out tea and coffee for the men engaged in the destruction of property, and were the most active in carrying away the goods taken from the cars. This work of pillage and destruction continued all day Sunday, and the actual destruction was participated in by only thirty to fifty men, the citizens in the meantime standing looking helplessly on, and no effort made to stay the damage by the bystanders. There was a very large crowd in the vicinity of the burning, who were supposed to be in sympathy with the destruction, and this probably deterred any one from interfering to put a stop to it. The police, on Sunday, arrested some seventy-five persons who were carrying off goods, the arrests being made some distance from the place where the articles were taken. Those arrested were taken before Deputy Mayor Butler, and most of them were by him discharged. This seems to be all that the police did to restrain the rioting that day, and it is in evidence that one policeman in uniform got into one of the cars and threw goods out to the mob.

"On Saturday morning, General Latta had sent written orders by Captain Aull to General Brinton, for the latter to make a junction with Colonel Guthrie, at Torrens, and with the whole force to march to Pittsburgh, and fearing that Captain Aull might fail to reach General Brinton, the order was read to Colonel Norris, who volunteered to go in search of General Brinton.

"Colonel Norris, in company with J. M. Stewart, overtook General Brinton's command a little beyond Sharpsburg, and they both testify that Colonel Norris told General Brinton that Captain Aull had been sent by General Latta in search of him with orders, and communicated to him (General Brinton) the substance of the orders, and that General Brinton refused to go back, saying that his men had been fired at from houses, street crossings, and police stations, and were almost famished for want of food, and he was going into the open country where he could intrench and defend himself, and procure food for his men, but that if he received positive orders he might return.

"General Brinton and several of his officers testify that although Colonel Norris visited him at the time and place stated, yet that he delivered no orders whatever, and stated that his errand was to find out where the command was. In regard to these counter-statements your committee will have something to say under the head of 'conduct of the militia.' It is proper to state here, however, that the written order given to Captain Aull to take to General Brinton was not delivered to him till the 1st day of August, a week from its date.

"Soon after the first car was set on fire, Saturday night, the alarm of fire was given, and the firemen with their engines at once turned out and arrived in the vicinity of the fire about eleven o'clock, but were not allowed to attempt to stop the destruction of the railroad company property. They tried several times to lay their hose, so as to play on the fire, but the mob cut their hose and threatened them with death if they persisted. Some of the police testify that they cleared away the mob at one place and notified the firemen that they were ready to protect them if they would go to work and put out the fire; but the firemen deny this, and testify that no such offer was made, and that at no time did they see half a dozen police together.

"In view of the general failure of the police to do what must be considered their duty in regard to the rioters, during the whole time of the trouble, they need not think it strange if the majority of people are inclined to believe the statements of the firemen. The officers of the fire department testify that the firemen were well organized at the place of danger, ready to do their duty at all times, and that this department was the only one in the city that was organized trying to do its duty during the time of the riot. The firemen, after some remonstrance on the part of a portion of the rioters, were allowed to save private property, and to this fact may be ascribed the safety of a good portion of the city; for the fire from the railroad property communicated to the adjoining property

of individuals, and but for the labors of the firemen there must have been a very extensive conflagration throughout Pittsburgh. The destruction of property did not cease until about five o'clock, P. M., on Sunday, the 22d, and then only when the limit of the corporation property had been reached at Seventh street by the destruction of the Union depot, Union depot hotel, and the grain elevator. The latter did not belong to the railroad company, but it was believed by the mob to be owned by a corporation, and therefore it was doomed to destruction with the rest. Several times during the day—Sunday—the cry of 'police' was made by some one in the crowd, and whenever this was done the mob would scatter in all directions, but as soon as it was ascertained to be a false alarm they would again return to the work of destruction. It was demonstrated also that whenever any citizen gave a determined and positive order to any of the mob it was usually obeyed.

"A notice had been published in the Sunday morning papers, and had also been given out in the various churches, that a meeting of the citizens would be held at the old city hall, at noon, for the purpose of organizing to protect the city. Some citizens met at the old city hall, according to notice, but there seemed to be no head to the movement, and it adjourned to meet at the new city hall immediately. At this place a committee of safety was appointed, and a sort of an organization for defense commenced, but in the language of a prominent witness engaged in the movement: 'They were all day doing very little; there was no head anywhere; the mayor did nothing, and seemed to be powerless, and the sheriff had run away. The mayor seemed to be confused; he ran around some, but really did nothing.' A nucleus for an organization of the responsible citizens of the city was formed, however, which on the following day developed into vigorous action, and the best men of the city came forward and subscribed liberally to a fund to pay an extra police force, and pledged themselves to subscribe any amount necessary to put the city in a complete state of defense against the mob element. Some sixty thousand dollars was actually subscribed, of which about fifteen thousand dollars was used to pay the extra police force called into existence by the action of the citizens during the emergency.

"About four to five o'clock, P. M., a body of fifty or sixty men, composed of professional and business men, were organized under the lead of Doctor Donnelly, and armed at first with ax-helves, and afterwards with some old muskets and no ammunition, and with white hand-kerchiefs on their left arms, appeared at the scene of the trouble, near the Union depot and elevator, but it was too late to save these buildings, as they were already burned. The crowd gave way to this force, but as the destruction was completed here but little could be accomplished. The

doctor ordered the mob to take hold and tear down a fence so as to stop the spread of the fire, and they obeyed orders.

"There was such an apathy among the citizens, that it took all the day to raise this force led by Doctor Donnelly, and after being on the ground a short time, and finding nothing for them to do, they disbanded.

"During the day (Sunday) a car load of whisky or high wines was broken open by the mob, and they drank very freely of it, and towards night, at the time the Union depot and elevator were burned, most of the active rioters were so drunk as to be unable to continue the work of destruction, if they had been so disposed. Whisky had done good service in this case, if never before. The fatigue consequent upon the labors of Saturday night and Sunday was also producing its effect upon the rioters, and taken in connection with the fact, that most of them must have been filled to satiety with rioting and destruction of property. shows a good cause for the waning of the riot on Sunday afternoon. A few of the rioters, between five and six o'clock, P. M., went to the Duquesne depot (the property of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company). at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, with the intention of burning it and the cars in the vicinity. One car was set on fire and an attempt made to set the depot on fire, but some six or eight of the citizens' safety committee arrived there about the time the rioters did, and they interfered at once to put a stop to destruction, and had no difficulty in doing so, as the rioters desisted and left as soon as they saw any authority exerted in opposition to their schemes.

"The Eighteenth regiment (Colonel Guthrie) had remained at Torrens station, keeping the track clear at that point, and waiting for the expected trains. The crowd at that place numbered about fifteen hundred men. composed of mill men, some railroad men, boys, roughs, and tramps. The passenger trains were allowed to run by the mob, but between Pittsburgh and Torrens they were filled to overflowing by the roughest of the crowd, who traveled backwards and forwards between those places on the trains at their pleasure, and no one dared to interfere with them. They even climbed on the engine and tender, and roofs of the cars, and controlled the movements of the trains whenever they chose so to do between those two points. At Torrens, the crowd would occasionally become demonstrative and defiant, and Colonel Guthrie was obliged to charge bayonets on them several times, and each time had no difficulty in dispersing them. Twice he ordered his men to load in presence of the crowd, and this of itself dispersed them. Colonel Guthrie's troops were not allowed to fraternize with the mob, but were kept entirely aloof from them, and this regiment does not seem to have become demoralized, as the Fourteenth and Nineteenth regiments were. About four o'clock, P. M., Sunday, Colonel Guthrie, hearing that the Fourteenth and Nineteenth regiments had been disbanded, and being unable to ascertain the exact condition of affairs at Pittsburgh, went there and consulted with General Latta, and his regiment was ordered to march to that place, where they arrived about dark, and, of course, too late to be of any service in stopping the destruction of property, which had all taken place before their arrival. They marched to the armory and stayed all night, and on Monday forenoon, the Twenty-third, together with the Fourteenth and Nineteenth regiments, which had been ordered to reassemble that morning, marched through the principal streets of the city for the purpose of overawing any riotous disposition that might still remain in those who had been engaged in the work of destruction the day before. Colonel Guthrie assumed command of the division, his commission being older than Colonel Gray's or Colonel Howard's, and when General Brown wished to assume command Colonel Guthrie refused to recognize his authority, on account of the manner in which he had managed matters on Saturday, the 21st. On Saturday night, a few of the leading citizens had suggested to the mayor that it would be well to call out all of the old police force that had been discharged, and in accordance with this suggestion the chief of police caused a notice to be published, calling on them to report at his office and they would be assigned to duty. During the day several reported and were employed, and afterwards most of the old force were taken back and assigned to duty for a time. This extra force, together with the force of citizens organized for the purpose, patrolled the city that Sunday night, and succeeding nights, until the danger had passed.

"From the very commencement of the strike, the strikers had the active sympathy of a large portion of the people of Pittsburgh. The people had a bitter feeling against the Pennsylvania Railroad Company on account of, as they believed, an unjust discrimination by the railroad company against them in freight rates, which made it very difficult for their manufacturers to compete successfully with manufacturers further west, and this feeling had existed and been intensified for years, and pervaded all classes. A large portion of the people also believed that the railroad company was not dealing fairly by its men in making the last reduction in wages, and the tradesmen with whom the trainmen dealt also had a direct sympathy with the men in this reduction, for its results would affect their pockets.

"The large class of laborers in the different mills, manufactories, mines, and other industries in Pittsburgh and vicinity, were also strongly

in sympathy with the railroad strikers, considering the cause of the railroad men their cause, as their wages had also been reduced for the same causes as were those of the railroad men, and they were not only willing but anxious to make a common fight against the corporations. This feeling of aversion to the railroad company and sympathy with the strikers was indulged in by the Pittsburgh troops to the same extent that it was by the other classes, and as many of them had friends and relatives in the mob, it is not much to be wondered at that they did not show much anxiety to assist in dispersing the crowd and enforcing the law.

"With the repulse of the attempt to set fire to the Duquesne depot ended all active efforts by the mob to destroy property, and after that Sunday night no mob of any size was again assembled, although it was several days before complete order was fully restored, as the people had lost confidence in all the laboring men, and no one knew who to trust or what to expect from others on account of the extent to which the demoralization had gone.

"About sixteen hundred cars (mostly freight), including passenger and baggage cars, with such of their contents as were not carried away by the thieves; one hundred and twenty-six locomotives, and all the shops' materials and buildings, except one or two small ones, of the railroad company, from above Twenty-eighth street to the Union depot, were burned on that Saturday night and Sunday.

"It has been estimated, by a competent person, that the damage, including loss of property and loss of business, consequent upon the interruption of business, which was inflicted by the mob, at Pittsburgh alone, was \$5,000,000. This may be a large estimate, but if the consequential damages could be correctly arrived at, the total damage would fall but little short of the figures given. The actual loss of property by the railroad company alone, not including the freight they were transporting, is estimated at two million dollars, by the officers of the company, from actual figures made. The authorities of Allegheny county adopted thorough measures to ascertain the extent of the loss of property, and to that end appointed a committee to investigate claims of those seeking indemnity. One hundred and sixty-nine claims were settled by the committee, that is, the amount of each claim of this number was adjusted and agreed upon by the committee and the parties, and the total amount thus adjusted is about one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and all this is strictly private property. Some persons refused to adjust the amount of their claims with the committee, among which is the claim of the elevator company, amounting to the sum of two hundred thousand dollars. Property that was stolen was also recovered and returned to the railroad company, amounting in value to at least sixty thousand dollars."

Of the sum of \$2,772,349.53 which the Allegheny County commissioners paid in settlement of riot damage claims, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company received \$1,600,000.

## CHAPTER VIII

THE CITY'S MUNICIPAL HISTORY



## CHAPTER VIII

## THE CITY'S MUNICIPAL HISTORY (Continued)

Water Filtration Ends Typhoid Fever Prevalence-Managing Engineer Lanpher's Sketch of One Hundred Years of the City Waterworks-Annexation of Birmingham Greatly Increases City's Area and Population -Need of Modernization of City's Government Realized-Annexation of Allegheny in 1906 Intensifies Pressure for Improved Charter-Bigelow Warfare Against Local Republican Party Organization Secures Alliance with Quay-Office of Mayor Abolished by Ripper Act of 1901 -Administrations of Major A. M. Brown and J. O. Brown as City Recorder—Restoration of Mayoralty and Election of William B. Hays— The Humb Finally Cut—City's Great Celebration of Sesquicentennial -Graft and Bribery Scandals Send Many Councilmen to Prison-Large Council Abolished by Act of 1911 and Succeeded by Council of Nine-Constitutional Amendment for City Comprising All of Allegheny County Adopted-Defeat of Metropolitan Charter on First Submission -Metropolitan Constitutional Plan Analyzed-Pittsburgh's Unique Graded Tax Law Penalizes Land Disuse and Encourages Building-Bond Issues by City and County for Public Improvements. 1010 to 1929—Mayors of Pittsburgh Since City's Incorporation.

The question of adequate water supply began to be one of the major municipal problems of Pittsburgh as the nineteenth century drew to a close. In the eighties the inadequacy of the supply was generally recognized. There was widespread complaint that the city had not yet modernized its water system, and the urgency of the issue was increased by the fact that the character of the city's industries, to say nothing of the smoke and soot which the industries in those days of unregulated smoke so freely generated, made the water requirements of the public exceptionally large in proportion to population.

The insistent demand of the public was for not only a larger and more dependable supply, but for a better quality of water. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century Pittsburgh achieved an injurious eminence as a typhoid fever center. Typhoid was constantly prevalent to the extent almost of chronic epidemic. Impurities in the water supply, drawn as it was from rivers polluted for 40 to 50 miles above Pittsburgh by the discharge from industries and the sewage of populous industrial communities, were admittedly

to blame. It became apparent that a filtration plant capable of purifying the major part of the city water supply must be built without regard to cost. In the year 1930 the City of Pittsburgh, by this time possessed of one of the most abundant water supplies in the country with a sand filtration plant which filtration engineers in all parts of America had pronounced a model, is almost entirely free of typhoid. The development of Pittsburgh's water supply is an interesting story because it is a city which uses more water per capita than any other in the country. The most carefully prepared, and most authoritative, history of the city's water system is that which was prepared by the managing engineer of the Bureau of Water, E. E. Lanpher, under the title of A Century of the Pittsburgh Waterworks, and read at a meeting of the Engineers' Society of Western Pennsylvania, Mr. Lanpher's sketch was published in the Proceedings of the Engineers' Society of Western Pennsylvania in January, 1929, and this history is indebted to the Society for permission to use the material therein presented. Mr. Lanpher treated the waterworks for different sections of the city separately, as follows:

The Central City.—The first known attempt to obtain a public watersupply is recorded in the following enactment of the Borough of Pittsburgh, when that municipality contained about 1,600 persons:

Be it ordained by the Burgesses, Freeholders and other inhabitants, housekeepers of the Borough of Pittsburgh, in town meeting duly assembled, at the Court House, the 9th day of August, 1802, that the Burgesses are hereby authorized and empowered to have wells sunk and pumps erected in such parts of this Borough as they think most advisable, beginning with Market Street. And it is further ordained that where individuals have, at their own expense, sunk wells and erected pumps in the streets, in useful and necessary parts of the Borough, that a compensation be made to them in case of their assigning them for public use. The whole expense to be defrayed by a general tax on the Borough.

ISAAC CRAIG, Chief Burgess. DAVID EVANS, Burgess.

The estimate of expense accompanying this ordinance was \$497.96 and it is certain that at least \$170 was collected, and that Walter Christy, Borough Clerk, called for proposals for four public wells on Market Street, which were to be dug to a depth of not less than 47 feet, and for the pumps to equip the wells.

In December, 1813, George Evans served notice that he was ready to pump water sufficiently high, by steam power, to run to any part of the town and to supply consumers at three cents a barrel. Again in January, 1818,

William B. Foster and William Hamilton petitioned for permission to supply water, but there is no record that either of these two projects materialized.

In 1824, the first definite steps were taken to obtain a general waterworks system. On February 24, Councils finally passed an ordinance providing for a loan of \$50,000 to construct the necessary works. Supervision was placed in a water committee composed of Messrs. Fairman, Magee, Denny, Carson and Hays. The Pittsburgh and Exchange banks advanced funds on the loan, and the committee purchased an engine-house site at the corner of Duquesne Way and Cecil Alley for \$1,425; also a lot 240 feet square on Grant Street (the present Court House site) for \$3,800, upon which to construct a reservoir.

An additional loan of \$40,000 was raised in 1826, and contracts were let in December of that year for a steam pumping-engine and a reservoir. It was specified that this pumping-engine was to be able to raise 60,000 gallons in 12 hours to a reservoir of 1,000,000 gallons capacity, at an elevation of 80 feet above the town.

The plant was turned over for operation in September, 1828. So much difficulty (mainly breakage of pump and pipes) was experienced that little water was delivered to consumers until 1829; in fact, it appears that the first water revenue accounted for was \$3,086 in 1829. The water consumption for the first three years did not exceed an average of 40,000 gallons a day, and the pumping-engine was operated about 21 hours a week.

By 1832, the water consumption had materially increased making it necessary to purchase a second pumping-engine. The plant at this time was termed to be "in good working order" and represented an investment of \$111,086.52.

During the 10 years following the opening of the plant, the city had expanded to the hill district east of Grant Street; also complaints were registered in regard to the contamination of the river water near the intake of the Cecil Alley pumping station. This resulted, in 1838, in council instructing the Water Committee to construct a larger pumping plant at a point "above the City," and a larger and higher reservoir. Mr. R. Moor, described as a mechanical and hydraulic engineer, was engaged to supervise the work. At this time, the city purchased a pumping station site at Eleventh and Etna Streets, and a reservoir site at Prospect and Elm Streets (the Washington Park site). The enlarged plant was placed in operation July 4, 1844. It consisted of the pumping station on Eleventh Street, generally called the "lower works," equipped with two steam-driven pumps known as "Samson" and "Hercules," of a combined capacity of 9,000,000 gallons a day, each with a cylinder diameter of 181/2 inches and a 12-foot stroke, pumping to the Prospect Street reservoir, known as the "lower basin," at an elevation (floor level) of 160 feet above the river. The "lower basin" had a capacity of about 7,500,000 gallons. The Cecil Alley plant and the Grant Street reservoir were abandoned at this time.

It should be noted that 9,000,000 gallons a day of pumping equipment was installed at a time when the water consumption was 1,500,000 gallons a day; that it was 20 years before additional pumping equipment was installed at the "lower works," and that "Samson" and "Hercules" functioned almost continuously until 1884—a period of 40 years.

In 1847, filtration of the water supply was first recommended. It required a lapse of 60 years for filtration to become a reality.

In 1848, just 20 years after the completion of the first plant, the continued progress of the city toward the eastern hill section forced the building of a reservoir at Erin Street and Bedford Avenue, and a small station at the "lower basin" to pump to it. This reservoir, at an elevation of 398 feet, with a capacity of 2,700,000 gallons, was known as the "upper basin," while its pumping station was known as the "upper works." This station began operation in 1850 and continued until 1893.

In 1853, after 25 years of development, the average daily pumpage was 2,805,568 gallons; the population about 56,000; the plant valuation about \$500,000, and the plant consisted of one primary and one secondary station, two small reservoirs and about 24 miles of pipe. The annexation, in 1867, of 14 wards and about 35,000 people, following the rapid growth of the old city, brought on a general shortage of the water supply. Additional pumping units were installed, and a small temporary pumping station was erected at Forty-fifth Street, and the Allegheny River in 1870. Its three small pumps delivered an average of less than 1,000,000 gallons a day directly into the distribution system until 1880.

While the matter had been under discussion for about five years, it was 1871 before the Water Committee finally recommended the construction of a pumping station above Negley's Run, the construction of a low reservoir on Brilliant Hill (now Lake Carnegie), and a high-service reservoir at the head of Highland Avenue. It was a year later before authorization to proceed was obtained, and 1879 before any of this new plant was operated. While the work at Brilliant station and Highland reservoir was in progress, there was authorized the construction of a reservoir on Herron Hill and a secondary station to supply it at Dithridge Street, near the present Bigelow Boulevard.

In 1878, after 50 years of plant operation, the pumpage had increased to over 15,000,000 gallons a day, the population to about 106,000, the consumers to about 8,000, and the plant valuation to about \$2,000,000, exclusive of work under construction. The plant consisted of two primary pumping stations and one secondary station, two small reservoirs, and 105 miles of pipe-lines; also two pumping stations and three reservoirs under construction.

Brilliant Hill reservoir, although practically completed, was never used as a portion of the waterworks system. It is now used as a park lake.

The first attempt, February 18, 1879, to supply water from Highland reservoir, failed, due to unconnected discharge pipes and to pipe breakage. Two days later a more successful attempt was made. Water was first turned into a small section, the resulting pipe breakage repaired, then extended into an enlarged district. This procedure was continued until March 5, when the water from Highland reservoir finally reached the "Point" section of the city. About four years were required to correct the major faults at Brilliant station and Highland reservoir.

The Herron Hill reservoir, and the original Herron Hill pumping station, started in 1878, were completed early in 1880, and the first water from this system was supplied to consumers on June 26th of that year. The one pump installed (with a capacity of 1,500,000 gallons a day) was transferred from the "upper works." The capacity of Herron Hill reservoir is 12,000,000 gallons, and its elevation is 563 feet, Pittsburgh datum. The daily pumpage to this reservoir during the first year of its operation was less than 900,000 gallons.

The Forty-fifth Street station was closed February 24, 1879, following the opening of Highland reservoir. Except for continuous pipe-line extension to meet the need of a rapidly extending city, there were no major plant developments from 1880 to 1890.

Three isolated high hills next received attention. In 1890 and 1891, a small secondary pumping station was erected at Evaline Street, pumping to a single tank at an elevation of 512 feet. This station and tank continued to supply the Garfield and Heberton Hill sections until 1914.

Again in 1895, a similar small pumping station and tank were installed to supply the Lincoln section. This Lincoln station was built at Park Avenue and Dearborne Street, while the tank was located near the eastern boundary line of the city at an elevation of 583 feet.

In 1897, a contract was awarded for the construction of Highland reservoir, No. 2—the lower reservoir in Highland Park—at an elevation of 277 feet, with a capacity of 126,000,000 gallons. This reservoir, installed for the service of the low-lying sections along both rivers, for which the abandoned Brilliant Hill reservoir had been built, was finally completed, after many trials, in 1903.

The rapid development of the Squirrel Hill section forced the building of a new and larger Herron Hill pumping station at the corner of Center Avenue and Dithridge Street. This station was completed, and the old station abandoned in 1807.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the contamination of the Allegheny River had reached such a stage that serious consideration of water

purification became a matter of necessity. One of the first moves in this attempt to better the character of the water supply was a combined meeting of the Engineers' Society of Western Pennsylvania, the Chamber of Commerce, the Allegheny County Medical Society, and the Iron City Microscopical Society, whose proceedings were published in 1894.

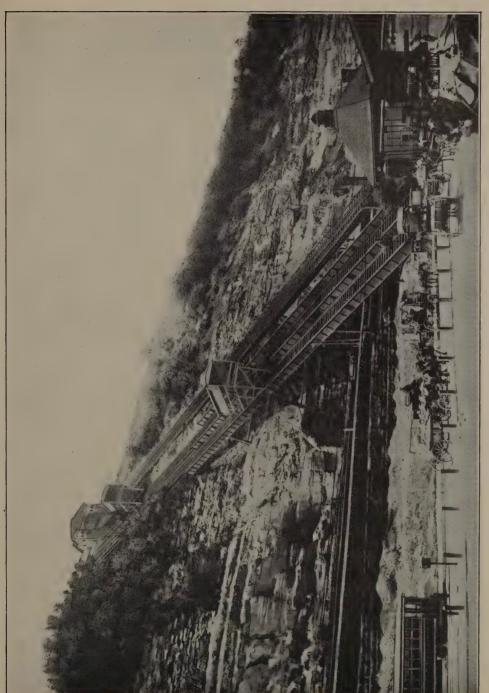
The citizens ranged themselves into three major groups—those in favor of the filtration of the existing supply; those who favored bringing water from distant uncontaminated sources, and those satisfied with existing conditions. Finally, by resolution of June 10, 1806, Councils provided for the appointment of a Filtration Committee composed of the Mayor, the Presidents of the Select and Common Councils, and eight representative citizens. Their report was submitted in January, 1899, and recommended the installation of a slow-sand filtration plant and the water-meter system. The issuing of the first of the so-called "filtration bonds" was approved by the people at an election held September 19, 1899. On the northern bank of the Allegheny River, east of Aspinwall and nearly opposite Brilliant station, the Pittsburgh filtration plant was started in 1905, after four years of intense argument, and after various designs and redesigns. The first filtered water was delivered December 18, 1907. Additional filtered water was delivered to "peninsular" Pittsburgh as rapidly as individual filters could be completed. and on October 3, 1908, its entire supply was filtered.

The South Side received its first filtered water on February 4, 1909, and the North Side on March 29, 1914.

The filtration plant, as first constructed, consisted of a low-lift pumping station, known as Ross station, equipped with four centrifugal pumps, each with a capacity of 35,000,000 gallons a day, a receiving basin, two sedimentation basins, 46 covered slow-sand filters, a filtered-water basin, and the necessary conduits and piping. There were later added to this plant 10 filters to meet the requirements of the North Side, and a contract baffle, or Reisler, pre-filtration system. This work was done in 1912 and 1913.

Due to the consolidation of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, December 6, 1907, and to the purchase of the city of the water plant of the Monongahela Water Company in 1908, the three waterworks were merged at that time into a greater city waterworks.

North Side.—In 1847, Allegheny took its first definite steps to obtain a public waterworks. In that year a committee, consisting of Messrs. Riddle, Painter, Lothrop, Warner and Alexander was appointed and within two months reported that it had purchased seven acres of ground on Troy Hill, then in Reserve Township, for a reservoir site, and a lot of ground on Bank Lane, now River Avenue, for a pumping station site. Councils immediately approved the purchases, issuing the necessary bonds in payment, and further issuing \$100,000 in bonds with which to construct a waterworks. River



MONONGAHELA INCLINE, SOUTH SIDE



Avenue pumping station and Troy Hill reservoir were first operated in 1849, and the cost of the complete waterworks to January 1, 1850, was \$265,985.23. The original pumping-engines served in this station until a larger unit, a Lowry, was completed in 1874. This Lowry pumping-engine, together with two Allis pumping-engines installed in 1884 and two Wilson-Snyder pumping-engines installed in 1888 were in service at the time of the consolidation of the two cities in 1907.

In 1871 and 1872, a pumping station containing one small pump was built at the Troy Hill reservoir to supply the adjacent high territory.

The growth of the city into the northern hills made necessary the building of Howard Street pumping station, drawing its supply from the mains of the River Avenue system and pumping to a single tank on Nunnery Hill at an elevation of 502 feet. This work was completed in 1882, and a new engine was added in 1885, a new tank on Spring Hill in 1886, and another on Nunnery Hill in 1888.

Allegheny decided in the early 90's to go far outside the city limits to obtain a purer supply of water. Montrose pumping station, located on the Allegheny River near Hoboken, about nine miles from the center of the city, was constructed in 1896, and continued to supply the city until 1914, when, after the consolidation, Aspinwall pumping station took its place. The only other major plant development of the Allegheny waterworks prior to its consolidation with the Pittsburgh waterworks was the installation of Greentree station and tanks in 1904. This small station, located on Broadway, took its supply from the Lafayette system, and pumped to two small tanks at an elevation of 690 feet—the highest point within the present city of Pittsburgh, and located on Montana Hill, at the extreme northerly boundary of Allegheny.

South Side.—The Monongahela Water Company served that portion of the city south of the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers, as it existed prior to recent annexations. Its charter was dated 1855; however, it was 1865 before active work was started on its water plant. At this time a pumping station on the Monongahela River at South Twenty-ninth Street, and Birmingham reservoir, at the head of South Thirtieth Street, were put in service. In 1875, a small pumping station was constructed at Birmingham reservoir for the supply of the hill section. The first Allentown tank was installed in this system in 1895, and two additional tanks were built in 1904. These tanks are in Grandview Park, at an elevation of 598 feet.

The Monongahela water plant was purchased by the city in 1908. With the exception of the Allentown tanks, and the distribution mains, very little of the Monongahela Water Company plant, as purchased, is now in existence.

Greater Pittsburgh.—With the consolidation of Pittsburgh and Allegheny in 1907, and the purchase of the Monongahela Water Company in 1908, the

city faced the necessity of extending its filtered-water service to include the enlarged territory and of consolidating three waterworks, separated by rivers, into one general system.

River Avenue station on the North Side was closed at once, and the supply from Montrose station was chlorinated, beginning in 1911.

On the South Side, soon after the purchase of the plant, water for the low-lying district was fed directly from Highland reservoir No. 2, and the South Twenty-ninth Street station, relieved of this service, took over the work of pumping water to the Allentown tanks, formerly done by Hill station. At this time Hill station and Birmingham reservoir were abandoned. Mission station on Mission Street, near South Eighteenth Street, was started in 1909 and placed in service November 12, 1912. This good example of a secondary pumping station replaced the antiquated South Twenty-ninth Street station, which was abandoned.

The building of Aspinwall station on filtration plant property for the general supply of the North Side, was started in 1911, and water was first delivered from this station March 28, 1914. In this same system, Cabbage Hill, or North Side reservoir, was started in 1912, and completed in September, 1914. This reservoir with a capacity of 155,000,000 gallons at an elevation identical with that of Highland reservoir No. 2, is located in Shaler Township, between the boroughs of Millvale and Etna. The opening of Cabbage Hill reservoir marked the passing of Troy Hill reservoir and Troy Hill pumping station. While Montrose station is held intact, it has not operated since 1915. Garfield station and tanks finally gave up their duties in 1912, in favor of Herron Hill reservoir.

During the years of the World War and the subsequent period of reconstruction no important changes were made in the water plant. In 1926, provision was made for a large amount of work, most of which is uncompleted. It comprises a large number of pipe-line projects, particularly rising mains; the rehabilitation of Ross and Brilliant stations; the electrification of Howard and Herron Hill stations; the relining of Highland reservoir No. 2; and the building of two reservoirs in the high district of the North Side to replace the Montgomery, Lafayette and Greentree tanks.

In 1828, one pump, its engine operated by steam from one boiler, served, through about 1½ miles of pipe and one reservoir, a city of about 10,000 people with raw river water at a maximum water pressure of about 34 pounds. The waterworks served a territory of about one-half of a square mile in extent. Now, at the end of a century of successful operation, the Pittsburgh waterworks serves 37 square miles of territory, a population of 590,000, with a daily average of 118,076,000 gallons of filtered water at an average pressure of 79 pounds. Its plant valuation on a used and useful

historical basis is about \$34,500,000, and its reproduction valuation is about \$65,000,000.

Listing only the major items, its plant consists of a slow-sand filtration plant with a capacity of 168,000,000 gallons a day; a low-lift pumping station equipped with five pumps of a combined capacity of 255,000,000 gallons a day; two primary pumping stations equipped with 13 pumps of a combined capacity of 196,000,000 gallons a day; four secondary and one tertiary pumping stations equipped with 16 pumps of a combined capacity of 69,000,000 gallons a day; a filtered water reservoir, storing 50,000,000 gallons; five reservoirs, and 12 tanks, storing in the distribution system 413,000,000 gallons; 13.65 miles of rising mains, eight inches to 96 inches in diameter; 812.28 miles of distributing mains, four inches to 66 inches in diameter; 18,993 distribution valves; 7,483 fire hydrants; 105,382 water services, and 44,475 water-meters.

Modernizing the City Government.—The foregoing pages recapitulating the rise of the modernized water system of Pittsburgh may serve as an introduction to a sketch of movements which developed in the last decade of the nineteenth century with purposes greatly transcending the mere improvement of physical conditions. Like most other American cities, Pittsburgh had suffered not a little from municipal misgovernment. The causes of the widespread tendency to municipal misrule in America are not the concern of this history. One cause which no doubt was operative in Pittsburgh was the tendency, more pronounced here than in most other cities, to follow national party lines in local municipal contests. Ever since the Civil War Pittsburgh had been a Republican stronghold, seldom using the Democratic party as an instrument for the chastening of the Republican local leaders who at times used their party instead of serving it. Moreover, the form of the city government was itself not well adapted to demands of businesslike and efficient city administration.

With the annexation of what was known as Birmingham to the city in March, 1872, the general conviction of the need of legislative reconstruction of the city's governmental machinery deepened. Birmingham, lying south of the Monongahela River but nevertheless an integral portion of the urban area, joined the city and became known as the South Side, Pittsburgh, on March 2, 1872, in pursuance of an Act of the Legislature dated May 10, 1871. It was by far the largest addition to the city made up to that time, inasmuch as the annexed territory comprised nearly 28 square miles and had a population of 165,000. The Legislature which met in the winter of 1873-74 passed an Act amending the city charter, but as it applied to no city except Pittsburgh and the new constitution of the state forbidding special legislation had gone into effect only a month or so before, the amendment to the Pittsburgh city charter was constitutionally null and void. In 1874, when it had become apparent that the constitutional mandate against

special legislation must be given a liberal interpretation, the Legislature adopted a bill known as the Wallace Act, dividing the cities of the state into three classes. It was agreed that if an Act applied to all of the cities of any one class, even though that class consisted of but one city, the constitutional mandate against special legislation was still being respected, and in this view the state supreme court concurred.

After the passage of the Wallace Act, charters for the three classes of cities were drafted by commissions which received appointments for this purpose from the Governor. When the proposed charters were submitted to the Legislature they so far differed from the notions of that body that it refused to enact them into laws. The people of Pittsburgh accordingly received no assistance in the improvement of their municipal government from the Legislature. In 1887 a legislative bill became law, reorganizing the city government in such manner that the executive responsibility was better defined and the executive departments better coördinated. The directors of the departments of (1) public safety, (2) public works, and (3) public charities, were to be appointed by the elected mayor by and with the consent and approval of City Councils, but the constitution of the City Councils themselves was not altered.

Signs of an impending political storm were not wholly wanting. Republican leaders of Allegheny County, Christopher Lyman Magee and William Flinn, maintained a powerful hold upon the city and county governments, the local party organization and the representation not only in state and national political conventions but in the state Legislature. State leadership, however, was vested elsewhere. Matthew Stanley Ouav, who, as Republican National Chairman in 1888, had played a dominant part in the election of Benjamin Harrison as President of the United States, now represented Pennsylvania in the United States Senate and controlled state politics as imperiously as Mr. Magee and Mr. Flinn controlled Allegheny County politics. The Magee-Flinn control in this city and county was a constant irritation to Senator Quay, whose astute mind unceasingly revolved plans of unseating the Allegheny County leaders. There existed at this time in Pittsburgh an organization of independent civic-minded citizens intent on better government, known as the Municipal League. It was not, however, in such a body that Senator Quay had any hope of finding allies. His opportunity came when the authority of the Magee-Flinn organization proved irksome to one of the ablest and most energetic men that organization had ever put into office. This mutineer was no less person than Edward Manning Bigelow, director of public works under Mayor William J. Diehl.

Director Bigelow was a man who, in comparison with the average city administrator, impressed the observer as possessing brilliant qualities—brilliant but erratic his opponents insisted. He had, in any event, performed

more than one notable public service and had acquired marked popularity and influence. It was he who on his own initiative had gone to England and called upon Mrs. Mary E. Schenley, daughter of the Col. Croghan mentioned in an earlier part of this history, and by inheritance from him owner of vast tracts of immensely valuable land within the city limits, from which Mr. Bigelow had dreamed of inducing her to segregate perhaps the choicest portion and present it to the City of Pittsburgh for a public park. The audacity of his dream made him the subject of no little ridicule when it became known. Undaunted, Mr. Bigelow went on his mission, Mrs. Schenley had not visited her girlhood home in Pittsburgh since, as a boarding school student, she eloped to marry an English army officer, Captain Schenley. But she must still have had affectionate remembrances of the beautiful estate near Pittsburgh where she was reared and she must have cherished a longing to be a benefactress to Pittsburgh's people. Mr. Bigelow, at any rate, so eloquently pictured to her the blessings which a large public park centrally located would bring to Pittsburgh's workers that he came back from London with a deed perpetually granting to the people of Pittsburgh for park purposes a beautifully wooded tract of 380 acres adjoining what is now the most important educational, residential, and institutional portion of the city.

Everywhere acclaimed as the "father of the parks," honored by the erection of his monument during his lifetime at the principal entrance to Schenley Park (the park having been named after the donor), Edward Manning Bigelow-who afterwards was to receive the further honor of having the city's principal boulevard named after him-was not wholly unconscious of the prestige attached to his name, and being temperamentally high-spirited, was not easily persuaded to conform to the discipline of any party organization. Ostensibly a subordinate in the city government, he had little relish for any subordinate rôle and little disputes finally grew into big ones, culminating finally in an order from the political "control" for his ejection from office, which was executed one morning in the old City Hall on Smithfield Street, in a manner that most people considered needlessly unceremonious, causing a tremendous political sensation. Mr. Bigelow had a very wealthy brother, Thomas S. Bigelow, who had made millions in the West End Street Railway Co. and other business enterprises, and who took great pride in Edward M. Bigelow's public service. Thomas S. Bigelow was tremendously affected by his brother's forcible ejection from the Department of Public Works. Alert agents of Senator Quay carried to the latter full particulars of the profound stir created by the breach between the Bigelows, on the one hand, and the Magee-Flinn organization, on the other, and a meeting between Senator Ouay and the Bigelows was not long deferred. An offensive and defensive alliance was formed, with the result that political circles in Allegheny County were soon aware of a program which contemplated the use of the State Legislature as a weapon in Senator Quay's hands with which to aid the Bigelows in wresting political control from Magee and Flinn in Allegheny County and making the Quay régime as powerful there as elsewhere throughout the commonwealth.

The preparations for the impending battle constituted the most exciting chapter in the political history of the city. Before the warfare ended, the state witnessed more than one political tour de force and coup d'état with no previous parallel in Pennsylvania. The climax came when Senator Ouav. exhilarated and strengthened by his new-found allies in Allegheny County, to whose standard thousands of expectant job seekers had rallied, pushed through the Legislature an Act known as the Ripper Act which summarily threw the Mayor of Pittsburgh out of office and with the Mayor, of course, the whole municipal "pay-roll" of thousands of employees. The Ripper Act became a law on March 7, 1901. It was entitled "An Act for the Government of Cities of the Second Class," Pittsburgh being the only city of that class, and it provided that the office of mayor should forthwith be abolished and all the executive powers of the municipality be vested in an official entitled the Recorder. The Act vested the Recorder not only with full executive authority but all the powers of a justice of the peace for a term of three years, after which he was not eligible for reëlection to any city office for a period of two years. In order that the ripping process should be complete, rules and regulations for the administration of all departments of the city government, not excepting councils, were included in this surprising enactment. By and with the advice of Senator Quay, Major A. M. Brown, member of an old family and a lawyer of character and distinction, was designated by the Governor as the first Recorder of Pittsburgh. It was a job for which Major Brown, then of advanced years and, moreover, a man to whom political intrigue was exceedingly distasteful, had no qualifications. And this statement is intended as a sincere compliment. His had been too honorable a career for such a dénouement. The position of Recorder called for a man of different tastes and a different training and experience. After a few months Major Brown resigned the office. Great as previous sensations had been they paled into insignificance when William A. Stone, the Governor (an Allegheny County man classed as a Quay man), chose as Major Brown's successor in the so-called office of Recorder not a Quay man or a Bigelow man, but a stalwart associate of Mr. Magee and Mr. Flinn in the person of J. O. Brown. Those were the days in which people who knew what person would be holding any particular political job in the city of Pittsburgh the day after to-morrow had to be uncommonly good guessers.

Meanwhile the regular Republican organization which, owing to the death of Senator Magee was now led by Senator Flinn alone, found itself in a life and death struggle with the faction led by the Bigelows and United States Senator Quay. Despite the tactical failure of the Recordership law, the Bigelows maintained a powerful city-county organization and in the spring of 1903 elected William B. Hays Mayor of Pittsburgh, the Legislature having abolished the Recordership. The administration of Mr. Hays was a factional one in which the maintenance of Bigelow supremacy was the controlling motive.

During these bitter struggles between the Republican factions much independent feeling had been generated among taxpayers, encouraged by adroit appeals from John B. Larkin, a Democrat known as Honest John, who had been elected to the office of City Controller. Mr. Larkin's efforts to institute greater honesty and economy of administration in the public service were heartily supported by many influential citizens identified with the Municipal League. At the same time a group of former adherents of the Bigelows led by Wm. H. Stevenson broke away from the Citizens (Bigelow) party and formed the Orphans' Party opposed to both Republican factions and earnestly seeking some road to genuine municipal reform. It was in this confused situation that the Democratic party, long neglected by the electorate, presented for the suffrages of the citizens of Pittsburgh a man of the highest character in the person of George W. Guthrie, Mr. Guthrie belonged to a family which for generations had represented the best social traditions and had given the city a Mayor in the person of John B. Guthrie in 1851-2. George W. Guthrie was one of the leaders at the bar. He had sufficient wealth to make him independent and his integrity of character was irreproachable.

The people turned with relief to such an opportunity as his candidacy presented, and in the spring of 1906 he became Mayor, serving with an eye single to the public good for a term of three years. He was succeeded by William A. Magee, a nephew of Christopher Lyman Magee, in the spring of 1909.

Sincerely as Mayor Guthrie strove to establish higher standards in the city administration, he was handicapped by inability to control the character of men selected by the people for councils, a body in which all of the forty-five wards of Pittsburgh had representatives, and in which the size of the membership not only facilitated log-rolling but acted as a cover for every variety of crooked intrigue. The City of Allegheny had been voted into the City of Pittsburgh in 1906. The accession increased the already too large councilmanic body. Rumors of councilmanic corruption were ordinary street gossip, even while Mr. Guthrie was doing his utmost to secure good government through the instrumentality of the Mayor's office.

It was charged that valuable franchises were bartered away without public consideration, and that a trifling minority of the members of the council was above bribery. Stung by the public scandal, A. Leo Weil and other men prominent in civics organized the Voters' Civic League, which

employed detectives and which after months of careful investigation secured evidence for presentation to the grand jury. That body on March 21, 1910, made a presentment indicting 40 councilmen. A second presentment some time later brought in true bills against 39 other persons, including not only members of council but bankers and other business men. No less than 60 of the indicted persons pleaded *nolo contendere*, and more than a score served terms of varying length in the county jail or the state penitentiary.

Out of this painful convulsion, which brought discredit upon the fair name of the community throughout the country, came one of the most substantial municipal reforms of a generation in the passage of an Act by the State Legislature in June, 1911, amending the charter of second-class cities by abolishing the two-chamber city council of Pittsburgh and substituting a one-chamber council composed of only nine members. The Act provided that these nine members of council should each be elected at large, and each therefore represent the whole city as his constituency, contrasting with the councilman in the old system who was elected only from a ward and only represented a ward with little or no concern for the welfare of the community as a whole.

In appointing the first members of what was known as the Council of Nine, the Governor responded to the demand of public opinion that men of substantial character and of mature business experience should be selected. A further distinction between the members of the new council and their predecessors was that for the first time a salary was attached to the councilmanic office. This was at first \$6,500 and has by subsequent legislation been increased to \$8,500. The first members of the council appointed by the Governor to serve until the people could elect were: W. H. Hoeveler, Enoch Rauh, E. V. Babcock, John M. Goehring, D. P. Black, J. P. Kerr, A. J. Kelly, Jr., Dr. S. S. Woodburn, and William G. Wilkins. Robert Garland, a well-known manufacturer, succeeded Mr. Kelly two months after the new council was organized and is today (May, 1931) the only surviving member.

The consolidation of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, referred to in a previous part of this chapter, was effected in 1906 as a result of the passage of what was known as the Greater Pittsburgh Act by the Legislature on February 7th of that year. The Act provided that in cities of the second class a petition by ordinance of councils of either of two contiguous cities, or of two per centum of the registered voters of either of said cities, may be presented to the court of quarter sessions asking that they shall be united and become one city, and that upon the filing of such petition any person interested may file exception to said petition prior to the day fixed for the hearing thereof, and that the court shall order an election to be held in said cities to vote for or against the proposed consolidation, at which all legal voters of either of said cities or of any intervening land shall be qualified to vote. The Act was vigorously opposed by the representatives from Allegheny City because

it did not require a majority in both of the cities affected, but stipulated that the consolidation should occur if there was a majority favorable to consolidation in the two cities as a whole. The election on the question of consolidation was held in the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny on June 12, 1906. Allegheny voted "no" but Pittsburgh voted "yes" by a majority which exceeded the negative majority in Allegheny, and on June 16th the courts declared Pittsburgh and Allegheny one city. An appeal to the supreme court of the state was taken but was overruled.

On Sunday, May 7, 1882, the Allegheny County Court House was destroyed by fire, but fortunately the records were saved. The fire compelled the county to take immediate steps for the erection of a new building. The county commissioners purchased the Western University building, at a cost of \$80,000, and used it until the new structure was finished. Other buildings were purchased or rented for the occupation of the various county officers. These temporary accommodations cost \$123,000.

Upon the subject of a new building all shades of opinion were expressed. Some persons thought that one costing \$500,000 would be sufficient; others held that a building costing not less than \$5,000,000 should be erected.

The matter was thoroughly discussed and many plans were examined by the commissioners before any definite action was taken. Correspondence was opened with prominent architects in this and other cities, and it was finally decided to select five of that profession—one a resident of Allegheny County, two of the eastern states, and two of the western. The following were selected: Mr. Post of New York, Mr. Ord of Philadelphia, Mr. Boynton of Chicago, Mr. Meyer of Detroit, and Mr. Peebles of Pittsburgh. Mr. Post declined to serve, and H. H. Richardson of Massachusetts was substituted. When the plans prepared by these architects were submitted, it was ascertained, after they had been examined, that four-fifths of the citizens favored the plans prepared by Mr. Richardson, and the commissioners finally decided to accept them. He was instructed so to shape his designs that the building would not cost more than \$2,250,000 and the equipment \$250,000. The county commissioners, at a cost of \$170,000, purchased sufficient land adjoining on which to erect a jail. Mr. Richardson's plans were handed to the commissioners about July 1, 1884. Bids were called for and on August 18th they were opened. They varied from \$2,695,556, the highest bid, to \$2,198,000. The latter, the bid of Norcross Brothers (the structure to be built of Worcester granite) was accepted, and some additions were made which increased the cost to \$2,243,000.

Norcross Brothers began their work in September, 1884, and in April, 1888, the court house and jail complete were turned over to the county commissioners. Bonds were issued to the amount of \$800,000, and the remainder of the sum due the contractors was raised by tax levy. The con-

tract for furnishing and equipping the court house was awarded to Norcross Brothers for \$103,750.

It is unnecessary to call the attention of the present generation to the architecture of this noteworthy structure. It is in the Norman Romanesque style, and the architects of America have acclaimed it as Richardson's masterpiece.

The removal of the "Hump" in Fifth Avenue from Smithfield Street to a point beyond Sixth Avenue eastwardly, and from Fourth Avenue to a level near Sixth Avenue northwardly, was a project contemplated and discussed for more than a generation and finally accomplished in 1912-13, after having been taken up and partially completed in two previous attempts. The first cut of 10 feet was authorized by Councils by an ordinance of March 26, 1836, which provided that "Grant Street at the intersection of Fifth Street shall be reduced 10 feet below the top of the middle front door sill of St. Paul's Church; and from the intersection aforesaid, Grant Street shall, when so reduced, be graded a uniform descent, northwardly, to the present grade of Seventh Street, at the west end of the canal bridge, and from said intersection shall be graded a uniform descent southwardly to a point halfway between Fourth and King Streets; and Smithfield Street at its intersection at Fifth Street shall be raised four feet above the present surface, and from thence shall be graded a uniform descent southwardly to Diamond Alley and northwardly a uniform grade to Virgin Alley; and Fifth Street shall be graded a uniform descent westwardly from Grant to Smithfield Street, and from the intersection thereof with Smithfield Street, the grade shall be a uniform descent to Wood Street; and the grade of Fifth Street shall be continued eastwardly 175 feet to an elevation four feet above the horizontal line, thence to Ross Street the grade shall have a uniform descent of I foot 6 inches perpendicular. Sixth Street, Virgin Alley and Diamond Alley shall each of them be graded from Grant Street eastwardly 1771/2 feet at a uniform ascent of 5 inches in every 10 feet, and thence, at a uniform descent, 1.8 inches in every 10 feet to Ross Street."

Thus began the first reduction of the "Hump," but it was not accomplished for several years, the usual drawbacks of remonstrants and other obstacles intervening. The second cut, one of 7 feet, was made in 1848, much of the débris being employed in the filling up and leveling of Smithfield Street.

The third reduction was authorized by city ordinance of 1911. A council-manic bond issue of \$270,000 was passed, which was later increased by one of \$495,000, making an aggregate of \$765,000 for the reduction of the hill. Waivers of damages for change of grade were given by property holders along the line of the cut to a majority extent before the contract was awarded to Booth & Flinn for the work, April 5, 1912, the contract to be finished by January 1, 1914. The work was completed about two weeks before the

contract limit expired. Summing up the extent of the cut, the former grade of Fifth Avenue was 7.4 per cent between Smithfield and Grant Streets, which was reduced to a grade of 4.8 per cent. The depth of the cut was 14.9 feet at Grant Street and Fifth Avenue, the maximum cut being at Fifth and Wylie Avenues, 16.3 feet. Other cuts were of proportional lower figures. When the cuts were made, however, several streets were widened. Fifth Avenue from Grant to Ross Street; Virgin Alley was widened from Grant Street to Liberty Avenue and its name changed from Virgin Alley to Oliver Avenue in honor of Henry W. Oliver. Cherry Alley was also widened from Fifth Avenue to Sixth Avenue; Grant (now Bigelow) Boulevard was extended from Seventh Avenue to Webster Avenue.

In 1920-21 Second Avenue was widened to a width of 70 feet from Grant Street to Liberty Avenue, while Ferry Street was widened from Liberty Avenue to Water Street. A new thoroughfare, known as the Boulevard of the Allies, was constructed from Grant Street at Second Avenue along the Monongahela bluffs to the Oakland district.

In 1908 not only Pittsburgh and Allegheny County but in fact all Western Pennsylvania participated in the celebration of the city's sesqui-centennial. In this year occurred the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the capture of Fort Duquesne from the French (November, 1758), and the beginning of a new fort by the English named after William Pitt. As the English victors christened the settlement Pittsburgh at this time, it was generally felt that this was really the beginning of Pittsburgh, and accordingly the sesqui-centennial celebration was organized.

The idea of the sesqui-centennial was originated in an editorial written by Burd S. Patterson and printed in the Pittsburgh Post, November 25, 1906. This vigorously followed his initiative in other editorials and communications, all urging the celebration of this paramount municipal event. Mr. Patterson prepared a detailed tentative plan for the celebration which he presented to the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce and to Mayor Guthrie and later to the Councils of the City of Pittsburgh. Later, through the intelligent activities of Mrs. Edith Darlington Ammon and Miss Julia Morgan Harding, the Daughters of the American Revolution endorsed the project and began vigorously to cooperate with the city agencies in the promotion of the plans for the seven days' celebration. Councils in both branches also took an immediate interest in the project and appointed committees from each branch to act with the General Committee which was appointed by Mayor Guthrie. The General Committee met, with Mayor Guthrie in the chair, in Common Council Chamber, May 7, 1908, and at the suggestion of the Mayor, Burd S. Patterson acted as temporary secretary, H. D. W. English was made chairman of the permanent organization; Hon, James W. Brown, H. J. Heinz and Mrs. Edith Darlington Ammon first, second and third

vice-presidents, respectively; John B. Jackson, treasurer; William H. Stevenson, Chairman of the Executive Committee; and Burd S. Patterson, secretary. Mr. English was not able to accept the chairmanship, and Mayor Guthrie was elected in his room.

The Executive Committee decided to make the celebration a threefold affair. The first celebration was to be held on Independence Day, and was in charge of A. B. Shepherd, Director of Public Works, who was named as chairman of the sub-committee. The second part of the celebration was fixed for the week of September 20th-October 3rd, the final part being arranged for observance November 25th, the anniversary of the occupancy of the site of Fort Duquesne by the army of General John Forbes. The carrying out of these plans involved an expenditure of more than \$50,000, which sum was readily raised by the sub-committee in charge. The credit of raising this money belonged to Col. James M. Guffey, chairman, and to Edward M. Bigelow, vice-chairman of this sub-committee. The Carnegie Steel Company. through the interest of A. C. Dinkey, contributed \$10,000 to defray the expenses of the observance of Independence Day. This celebration was carried on concurrently in Schenley, McKinley, Washington, Arsenal, Holliday, East, West and Ormsby Parks and in Snyder's Grove and Bingham's Field, all under splendid auspices during the day and evening. A memorable incident of the day was the unveiling and dedication of a marble slab upon which was hung a bronze image of the late Hon. C. L. Magee, designed by the sculptor Augustus St. Gaudens, and presented to the City of Pittsburgh by many citizens who contributed to the purchase and erection of this fine memorial. The monument is erected in the shape of a public fountain facing the entrance to the Carnegie Library in Schenley Park. The widows of both Messrs. Magee and St. Gaudens were interested spectators of the event.\*

The names of Forbes and Pitt and Penn and others of historical fragrance were thought to be properly associated with any idea of an appropriate celebration of an event of as much importance as a century and a half of real history of one of America's greatest cities, and earnest effort was made through the friendly mediation of Col. Charles E. E. Childers, then Great Britain's vice-consul at Pittsburgh, to induce the descendants of these early friends of Pittsburgh to grace the occasion by their presence. During the week of the celebration the city had as its guests the Misses Hester Louise Pitt Taylor and her niece, Madeline Hester Pitt Taylor, direct descendants of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, through his daughter Hester, wife of the Earl of Stanhope; Hon. Eric C. F. Collier, of England, accompanied the Pitt descendants. Arthur Forbes and wife, of Edinburgh, descendants

<sup>\*</sup>George T. Fleming's Pittsburgh and Its Environs is mostly followed in this account.

of Arthur Forbes, eldest brother of General John Forbes, who delivered Fort Duquesne, were also guests. They were enabled to visit the grave of their uncle in the churchyard of Christ Church, Philadelphia, en route. The great-great-granddaughter of Samuel Washington, George Washington's brother, Miss Martha Washington, of Philadelphia, was another welcome visitor to the city during this week. Distinguished Americans who were guests at the various ceremonies were: Vice-President of the United States Charles W. Fairbanks and wife; Governor Edwin S. Stuart and Lieutenant-Governor Robert S. Murphy; General Horace Porter, former Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, Justices S. L. Mestrezat and William P. Potter of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and many other prominent Americans closely related ancestrally and otherwise to the celebration.

The events of the week developed in an orderly sequential manner, all of them apposite and all of them odorous of the precedent and the tradition they were intended to typify and illustrate. As the first act of the English leader was to give thanks to the Supreme Being for the success that had attended his expedition from the Delaware to the Ohio, in this instance the denominations of the city in their respective peculiar methods, united with the strangers within their walls in general thanksgiving for "what God had wrought" for all in a century and a half in the "New World," particularly in Pittsburgh.

Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead, of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh, conducted the special services in Calvary Episcopal Church, among his auditors being the Pitt descendants and their guest, Mr. Collier. The relatives of General Forbes worshipped at the Sixth United Presbyterian Church, while the other visitors went with their friends to their ordinary places of worship. The notable event of the day was the Union Service at the Nixon Theatre, at which Chancellor S. B. McCormick, of the University of Pittsburgh, presided, and at which ministers of the Protestant, Jewish and Roman Catholic Churches took part. Addresses were made by Mayor George W. Guthrie, Dr. John A. Brashear, Father A. A. Lambing, Dr. Daniel Dorchester and Dr. J. Leonard Levy, the distinguished Jewish Rabbi. An overflow meeting was held in front of the Allegheny County Court House, at which Dr. S. Edward Young presided.

Monday morning's exercises were acclaimed by salutes from artillery on Herron Hill and other eminences, by shrieks from thousands of whistles from Pittsburgh's mills and workshops, and in numerous noisy demonstrations that left no doubt (at least in the ears of the guests and visitors) of the general sincerity of the entertainers. Heralds upon horses caparisoned as were those of the eighteenth century, the heralds themselves wearing the garb of that time, rode through the city proclaiming the formal opening of the celebration, while the cheers of the hundreds of thousands thronging the streets of the city gave it the vocal sanction and encouragement that its impor-

tance demanded. This feature of the entertainment was the inspiration of Thomas M. Walker, Pittsburgh student of antiquities and local historian.

The distinctive historical event of the day was the installation upon the walls of Bouquet's blockhouse at the "Point" of a tablet commemorating the visits of George Washington to that locality. The local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution had provided and prepared this tablet, which was presented by Mrs. Edith Darlington Ammon, regent of the chapter. Mayor Guthrie delivered an eloquent address, and the dedication speech was made by Samuel Harden Church. A fitting historical color was given to the closing exercises when Mrs. Ammon raised the flag of France, Mr. Arthur Forbes that of Great Britain, and Miss Mary Brunot Roberts the American flag, over the spot that each had been raised upon within fewer than twenty-five years of each other between 1754 and 1775. This sacred spot was that which George Washington had noted as one of peculiar natural military and commercial advantage when he was sent by the governor of Virginia and the managers of the Ohio Company to select (among other things) and to approve another location entirely for purposes of state and corporation, which had already been selected and approved by other commissioners. Washington's selection was accepted by his principals and preparations for its use were on the way when the French took it over. Braddock's defeat and death and other expenditures of blood and money intervened before the eyes of the dying Forbes saw the flag of England wave over the ashes of the abandoned French Fort Duquesne.

A tea in honor of visitors and guests was served by members of the Twentieth Century Club after the ceremonies at the Point. In the evening a civic reception was given at Duquesne Garden, at which Mayor Guthrie gave an address of welcome and the foreign and domestic guests were introduced to the ten thousand attendants. The dance that followed, the grand march led by Mayor Guthrie and Miss Hester L. Pitt Taylor, was the largest social event. This entertainment was under the auspices of the general committee.

Tuesday was devoted to showing the foreign visitors and such of the invited guests as were not familiar with the resources of Pittsburgh, the treasures of this manufacturing city, which were spread out on acres of floors and miles of tables in the immense buildings of the Pittsburgh Exposition Society, that for a quarter of a century had annually expressed to the world the mysteries of electrical, steel, glass, and iron phenomena that had found form and substance as transferred from the brains of Westinghouse, Carnegie, Jones, Oliver and the rest of that army of thinkers and artificers who have made Pittsburgh the wonder city that it is. The day was all too short for many of those to whom the "half had not been told." These visitors afterwards declared that they had never in one day been face to face with as

many and as varied products, and that their regrets were that they had not been able to understand all that had been shown them.

The committee on entertainment visualized Wednesday, September 30, in its Marine Day Exhibit, with samples of all internal river craft in use since the Indian constructed his bark canoe and paddled it from the sources of the Allegheny and Monongahela to their confluence at Pittsburgh and followed the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico from its junction with the Mississippi. not oblivious to the natural treasures of the "Father of Waters" as they made their seasonal journeys from "clime to clime." Captain James A. Henderson, a veteran river man and expert in transportation, was in charge of this river display and had forgotten nothing of river history or of its minutiæ of methods of either freighting or traveling, in expression upon this eventful day. Canoes, bateaux, kentuckes, flatboats, arks, skiffs, rafts, houseboats, primitive steamboats, later steam vessels, towboats with their great tows of coal, coke and various freights stowed either in modern flats or model barges. stately passenger boats, launches, electrical and steam, dredges, sand diggers, motors, each and all were in this parade, their crews appareled as of day and generation, everything designed upon strict historical prescription. James A. Henderson was chairman of the ladies' reception committee and contributed very materially to the many items requisite to the traditional accuracy of the representation.

Pittsburgh at this time was on the brink of merging the City of Allegheny with its own government, the merger occurring the year after the sesquicentennial. This consummation had been devoutly desired for many years but obstacles, tentative, artificial, sentimental and legal had been interposed until the joint vote of 1907 had primarily decided the matter, and decision of all the state and national courts had confirmed it. With the certainty of consolidation in view, the committee in charge of "Greater Pittsburgh Day" had arranged a program at once commemorative of the event and thoroughly jubilant of its consummation.

H. D. W. English, chairman of this committee, with his principal aides, Col. John P. Penney, Albert York Smith, Edward White and Major William H. Davis, the last in charge of all military matters relating to the general parade, prepared a program that included every aspect of the affair both as to its meaning and its general definition. While the same historical elements did not enter into the constituents of a parade that would visualize the merging of the cities as in that of Marine Day, it was susceptible of many luminous suggestions as expressed in floats, streamers, pictures and illustrations of the civic and manufacturing resources of both cities, and much ingenuity and art were manifest in the exhibits carried by the floats and great trucks that made up the parade. Further diversification came of the fine military display that Major Davis was able to get together, one of the

largest and most notable in the traditions of Pittsburgh's military exhibits. The scheme of the parade was to have a "beautiful and instructive parade, not too large, which should illustrate the growth of the city from the beginning in all lines." This vision was realized in the "testimony of the floats and trucks" and in the accuracy of the apparel worn by those who had assumed the characters of the principals in the several periods covered.

Major-General Samuel B. M. Young, U. S. A., retired, a native of Allegheny County, was chief marshal, with John P. Penney, Colonel of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, adjutant-general and chief of staff, with 34 mounted aides, including nine cadets from the United States Military Academy at West Point. An escort of mounted police, with the entire Eighteenth Regiment of the National Guard; the Fourteenth Regiment and Battery B of the same body; the civic committee in charge of the general arrangement, state and city officials in carriages, completed the first division, which also had the great float symbolizing the growth of the city from 1758 until 1908.

Friday, October 2nd, was another day full of interest to many thousands who witnessed the ceremonies and heard the addresses incident to the laying of the cornerstone of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Hall, that magnificent edifice that the gratitude of the people of Allegheny County prompted the commissioners to erect at the corner of Bigelow Boulevard and Bayard Street in Schenley Farms. Captain Charles B. Price was the chairman of the occasion, which was preceded by a fine parade of the city and county soldier body, more particularly the Veteran Soldiers and Sailors Organization, under command of Grand Marshal James Emory Porter. Other components of this parade were the students of the University of Pittsburgh in cap and gown; Sons of Veterans; Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic; Spanish War Veterans; members of the Union Veteran Legion Drum Corps, and other organizations. Henry M. Nevius, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, was the chief honor guest. Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh made the opening prayer. The chairman of the occasion then turned the conduct of the affairs over to a special committee of the veterans consisting of Albert P. Burchfield, Past Senior Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic; Past Chaplain-in-Chief of the Grand Army, Rev. Thomas Newton Boyle, D.D.; Isaac K. Campbell, and others. Major Burchfield introduced Mayor Guthrie, who welcomed soldiers and friends, and after Dr. Boyle had read portions of the Scriptures appropriate to the proceedings, a list of the articles deposited in the cornerstone was read. The Officer of the Day unfurled and presented the flag, which was saluted by those present, the unction and grace with which the West Point Cadets did this duty attracting the applause of the multitude. General Horace Porter,



SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MEMORIAL HALL, SCHENLEY FARMS



a native of Pennsylvania, a member of General Grant's staff during the Civil War, and a member of the various organizations represented at the ceremony, delivered an oration that was comparable with that of Daniel Webster at a similar ceremony when the Bunker Hill monument was dedicated, in eloquence and apprehension of the importance of the occasion. After the workmen had properly placed the stone, Col. I. K. Campbell gave it the customary finals, and the audience turned to listen to the addresses of Vice-President Charles W. Fairbanks, Governor Edwin S. Stuart, and others. The descendant of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Miss Hester L. Pitt Taylor, was formally introduced and expressed her pleasure at being privileged to be present. Bishop J. F. Regis Canevin of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh pronounced the benediction.

Following the ceremonies at Memorial Hall, the great crowd crossed the boulevard to the grounds of the University of Pittsburgh to participate in a similar ceremony on its campus under the auspices of a sub-committee of the sesqui-centennial committee. Dr. Samuel Black McCormick, Chancellor of the University, was chairman of this committee, and, as in the instance of Memorial Hall, asked Bishop Whitehead, a member of the Board of Trustees of the University, to deliver the invocation. George W. Clapp, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University, was master of ceremonies. The students sang "Veni, Vidi, Vici." Mayor Guthrie, Vice-President Fairbanks, former Chancellor Rev. Dr. William J. Holland, and John W. Sheatz, treasurer of the state of Pennsylvania, made short addresses preceding the laying of the cornerstone of the new building by Chancellor McCormick and Chairman Clapp. "America" was sung by the students and spectators, and after Bishop Whitehead had pronounced the benediction the crowd dispersed.

From four to six o'clock in the afternoon the lady guests of the city were entertained at a tea in Carnegie Music Hall by the Women's Reception Committee, of which the wife of Mayor Guthrie was chairman. This tea was attended by fully three thousand ladies, during which a musical program was rendered by an orchestra. The principal guests were: Mrs. Fairbanks, Miss Hester Louise Pitt Taylor, Miss Madeline H. Pitt Taylor, Mrs. Arthur Forbes, Mrs. Guthrie, Miss Martha Washington; Mesdames H. D. W. English, John Dalzell, James W. Brown, W. J. Holland, A. H. Childs, J. G. Holmes, Alexander Laughlin, Jr., J. I. Kay, William Thaw, Jr., Herbert DuPuy, D. J. Thayer, Miss Mary Louise Jackson and Mrs. Stevenson.

Sixty days after the foregoing celebration—to be exact, on November 25, 1908—the actual anniversary of the foundation of Pittsburgh was more quietly commemorated. For this commemoration on November 25th, the principal guests of the city were the Honorable Charlemagne Tower, former ambassador of the United States to Germany; Governor Edwin Stuart of Pennsylvania; and Baron Herman Lagercrantz, Minister of Sweden to the

United States. The latter was accompanied by his secretary, Count Ludwig R. af Ugglas. During the morning of November 25th interesting historical exercises were held in the schools throughout the city, and in the Duquesne School, which at that time stood near the site of Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt, there were historic tableaux showing the little fleet of Celeron coming down the Allegheny River to dislodge the English from the Point; Washington and Gist crossing the Allegheny; Captain Trent building a fort at the head of the Ohio River; Braddock's defeat; and the hoisting of the British flag over the burning remains of Fort Duquesne evacuated by the French.

The principal formal observance of November 25th took place in the afternoon in the great main building of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, standing within a stone's throw of the historic Block House. Hampton L. Carson of Philadelphia, and Charlemagne Tower made the principal addresses. There was also a tribute to Pittsburgh's stirring colonial history by the Honorable Claude A. Swanson, Governor of Virginia.

There was a general feeling in Pittsburgh that the sesqui-centennial celebration, including both the seven days from September 29th to October 3rd, and the exercises on the actual sesqui-centennial anniversary, November 25th, had been a great success, making not only the country but the people of Pittsburgh themselves more familiar with the deep significance that Pittsburgh's early history had for civilization. One of the incidents which attracted most comment at the November 25th exercises was the reading of a letter of regret from Andrew Carnegie, in which Mr. Carnegie said:

Great as Pittsburgh's progress has been, and commanding as her position is, her future will be still greater if she be true to herself. One thing pains me deeply—the passing away of her prominent citizens from time to time without leaving behind them some evidence of love and gratitude for the city in which they made their fortunes. Surely this Pittsburgh in which they have prospered should not be forgotten.

The Metropolitan Plan.—A plan of vital importance to the city and county for generations came to an issue in the years 1928 and 1929, when the people of the entire county voted on a plan known as the Metropolitan Plan, the purpose of which is to create a consolidated city and not only give the people of Allegheny County better coördinated and more effective government in relation to countywide problems, but secure for Pittsburgh its rightful census rank. It is not generally understood throughout the United States, but is nevertheless a fact well appreciated in the Federal census bureau, that Pittsburgh and Boston occupy a singular position among American cities in that the process of consolidating suburban territory with the city has not gone on in either of these cities as it has elsewhere. A consolidation of con-

tiguous suburbs with the city in the same manner and to the same degree as elsewhere would make Boston the fourth city of the United States instead of the eighth. And Pittsburgh, if it had consolidated with its suburbs in like measure, would move up several places in the census tables, probably passing into fifth place. A realization of the disadvantage of an inferior census rank in the competition of cities for population, trade and new industry, led the advocates of a Greater Pittsburgh, in session after session of the Pennsylvania Legislature, to appeal for a consolidation act which would reduce the unequaled multiplicity of governments in the metropolitan area, and for this unwarranted duplication of governmental function set up a genuinely metropolitan government with legal power and authority to coördinate municipal services and give a unified solution to the constantly increasing metropolitan problems.

The consolidation of Pittsburgh and Allegheny in 1906 gave new impetus to the consolidation tendency, and it was freely admitted in the Legislatures of 1915, 1917, 1919, and 1921, that to have 125 municipal governments virtually unrelated and wholly uncoördinated in a single urban area affected by unceasing common needs and problems was a denial of every principle of sound economy and good government. The office-holders in the scores of underlying governments were, however, not inclined to be deprived of their emoluments and political influence, and there was an honest fear of a consolidated government on the part of many borough and township taxpayers.

Proposal after proposal was made in the Legislature for a solution of the real difficulty that was presented by the really indisputable need of a metropolitan government on the one hand and the widespread misunderstanding and suspicion which had to be overcome in the boroughs and townships (and to some degree even in the city) on the other hand. The League of Boroughs and Townships of Allegheny County had been formed a few years after the absorption of Allegheny to protect the boroughs and townships against any form of annexation or consolidation in which city voters might be permitted to outvote the boroughs and townships. No plan of annexation coming from the city annexationists found favor with the League of Boroughs and Townships. On the other hand, the League of Boroughs and Townships did not itself offer any constructive plan for a termination of the deadlock. Finally the feeling throughout the state that it was absurd to encourage the maintenance of 125 independent municipal governments in Allegheny County, while Philadelphia City and County had but one government, resulted in a crisis for the anti-consolidationists in the Legislative Session of 1923. William A. Magee, then Mayor of Pittsburgh, sponsored an annexation measure which in spite of the bitter opposition of the League of Boroughs and Townships of Alleghenv County had passed one branch of the Legislature and was apparently destined to pass the other.

Realizing the gravity of the situation from the Borough and Township point of view, Joseph T. Miller of Edgewood Borough, chief executive officer of the Allegheny County League of Boroughs and Townships, asked Mayor Magee for an armistice. Mr. Miller admitted to the Mayor that the annexation idea was apparently on the eve of triumph but maintained that brute political force was, as matters stood, the only argument that was being employed on either side. In place of this he proposed a resort to reason. To make such a resort possible, he submitted to Mayor Magee that the annexation measure ought in justice to be withdrawn instead of being forced through, and that there should be substituted for it, by agreement of the opposing factions, a bill setting up a study commission to be appointed by the Governor of the state for the purpose of making a careful survey of the governmental situation in Allegheny County and bringing in a report to the next Legislature proposing a plan of consolidation which would answer growing metropolitan needs and at the same time preserve the principle of local selfgovernment and allow it to continue operative in those concerns of the underlying municipalities having no bearing on metropolitan services or problems.

The League of Boroughs and Townships found Mr. Magee a willing listener. In the very moment of apparent victory he accepted the armistice proposal, stayed the progress of the annexation measure, and joined in securing the passage of the bill suggested by Mr. Miller for the establishment and appointment of a study commission to be known as the Metropolitan Commission. Under the terms of the compromise measure, the boroughs and townships of Allegheny County were to receive 16 of the 24 places on the said Commission; the cities of the third class (Duquesne, Clairton and McKeesport) three places, and the City of Pittsburgh only five places.

In 1925 the Governor and the Legislature received from this Commission a report of its two-year study of the problem. That report had as its crux a proposed amendment to the state constitution to permit the establishment of a federated city embracing the entire area of Allegheny County and investing the government of said federated City of Pittsburgh with metropolitan powers while reserving to the 125 underlying municipalities their essential independence in purely local concerns, including taxation. The Legislature accepted the plan and adopted the proposed constitutional amendment.

The plan attracted the attention of municipal experts in all parts of the United States as the first endeavor to apply what is known as the Federal, or federation, principle in government to the problems of metropolitan areas. The relations of the Federal Government at Washington to the governments of the states were kept scrupulously in mind by the framers of the plan in outlining the relations which should exist between the consolidated or federated city government and the governments of the underlying municipal areas. On being submitted to the Census Bureau at Washington the plan was

accepted by that Bureau as a bona fide embodiment of a city government. The officials of the Bureau said that the federated City of Pittsburgh would be fully recognized by the Bureau as such and its population would be entirely counted as the population of the City of Pittsburgh, which it was accordingly anticipated would in the census of 1930 be approximately 1,500,000.

The proposed amendment to the state constitution was adopted by the Legislatures of 1925 and 1927, and under the provisions of the constitution itself was then submitted to the people of the state for ratification. This submission occurred at the general election of November, 1928, at which the amendment was ratified by the people of Pennsylvania.

When the Legislature convened in biennial session in January, 1929, it became the duty of the Metropolitan Commission to submit the draft of the proposed charter for the consolidated city. The Legislature did not adopt the measure in the form in which it was proposed by the Metropolitan Commission. In the course of its passage through the General Assembly it was modified in various particulars, but in its essence it preserved the features which were expected to overcome the opposition of generations in the boroughs and townships. A wide departure from the character of measure sought by the borough and township leaders was not possible, for the reason that the essential safeguards of local self-government had been written into the constitutional amendment. The charter as amended in the Legislature was signed by Governor John S. Fisher on April 18, 1929. It was submitted to the people of Allegheny County at a special election on June 25, 1929, and while an overwhelming majority of them voted for it the result was inconclusive as far as the establishment of the federated city was concerned, owing to a provision which had been slipped into the constitutional amendment during the closing days of the Legislature of 1925 requiring that no charter for the federated city should become operative until it had been accepted by the people of Allegheny County in two ways: First, by a majority of the total vote cast at the election; second, by a two-thirds majority in a majority of the municipalities. The event proved that the charter, as submitted, was satisfactory to more than a decided majority of people of the county. It not only carried the county as a whole by more than a twothirds vote but it carried a majority of the municipalities. It did not carry the requisite majority of them, however, by a majority of two-thirds, a considerable number of them giving it a bare majority

The unreasonable requirement which the advocates of the metropolitan plan had agreed to thus proved its undoing as far as the initial charter submission is concerned. And the fact that 1930 was not a legislative year prevented legislative action which would secure the federated city its proper census rank in the year 1930. In the Legislature of 1931 the matter has come up in the form of two measures, introduced by Senator Coyne. One

of these expresses the power to resubmit the charter to the county commissioners. The other initiates an amendment to the constitution repealing the unreasonable two-thirds requirement above referred to in the provisions governing the charter elections.

As the matter stands when this is being written in April, 1931, the adoption of the charter and the establishment of the consolidated city have apparently only been deferred. An analysis of the vote at the first election, as well as a summary of the constitutional amendment and the proposed charter (which the Legislature may order to be resubmitted without material change) will at this point be in order.

Fifty municipalities gave the charter plan the required two-thirds vote, it was shown. Under the terms of the constitutional amendment the voters were required to give the proposal a two-thirds vote in a majority of the 123 municipalities. This they failed to do.

On the basis of bare majority, 82 municipalities gave a majority for the charter and 39 against, with two tied. The total vote for the charter was 87,807 for and 40,973 against, or a majority favoring it of 46,834, which is more than two to one.

The vote according to the returning board figures was as follows:

	Yes	No
Pittsburgh	50,402	6,976
McKeesport	548	7,121
Duquesne	627	754
Clairton	538	715
66 Boroughs	25,122	15,705
53 Townships	10,570	9,702
	87.807	40.073

Municipalities carried by a majority:

	Carried	Lost
Cities	1	3
Boroughs	52	14
Townships	29	22
	82	39

Two townships were tied on the charter—Sewickley, 21-21, and O'Hara Township, 209-209.

Results of the election measured by the two-thirds requirement were:

	Carried	Lost
Cities	I	3
Boroughs		32
Townships	15	38

The following municipalities gave a two-thirds vote for the Metropolitan Charter, 62 being necessary to adopt it. The following municipalities either defeated, or failed to give the Metropolitan Charter, a two-thirds majority vote.

FOR			AGAINST		
City	Yes	No	Cities	Yes	No
ı—Pittsburgh	49,227	6,933	1—Clairton	538	715
			2—Duquesne	627	754
			3—McKeesport	584	7,126
Boroughs			Boroughs		
ı—Avalon	589	164	I—Aspinwall	385	288
2—Bellevue	919	306	2—Blawnox	84	72
3—Ben Avon	309	105	3—Brackenridge	15	130
4—Ben Avon Ht	46	6	4—Bridgeville	189	259
5—Braddock	970	433	5—Castle Shannon	148	III
6—Bradford Woods	. 89	23	6—Cheswick	66	41
7—Brentwood	329	118	7—Coraopolis	220	692
8—Carnegie	856	272	8—Dormont	975	634
9—Chalfant	108	17	9—Dravosburg	85	382
10—Crafton	818	346	10—East McKeesport	206	473
II—Edgewood	636	189	11—East Pittsburgh	269	298
12—Emsworth	247	113	12—Edgeworth	88	80
13—Glenfield	195	57	13—Elizabeth	287	272
14—Greentree	180	31	14—Etna	451	647
15—Haysville	43	3	15—Forest Hills	80	56
16—Heidelberg	146	58	16—Glassport	338	625
17—Homestead	1,335	196	17—Oakmont	235	225
18—Ingram	405	162	18—Osborne	54	32
19—Leetsdale	127	62	19—Sewickley	526	348
20—Millvale	859	335	20—Springdale	157	100
21-Munhall	316	136	21—Tarentum	166	1,008
22—Mt. Oliver	701	176	22—Turtle Creek	369	391
23—McKees Rocks	1,472	284	23—Verona	148	121
24—Oakdale	151	66	24—Versailles	61	328
25—Overbrook	621	64	25—West Elizabeth	131	76
26—Rankin	898	117	26—West Homestead	100	91
27—Rosslyn	59	12	27—Whitaker	84	64
28—Sharpsburg	690	234	28—Wilmerding	456	354
29—Swissvale	788	355	29—Pitcairn	166	300
30—Thornburg	87	2	30—Port Vue	36	207
31—Wall	128	32	31—Liberty	64	159
32—West View	472	141	32—North Braddock	35	661,
33—Wilkinsburg	2,207	1,079			
Townships			Townships		
ı—Aleppo	16	8	I—Baldwin	329	261
2—Kilbuck	51	12	2—Bethel	296	269
<b>3</b> —Leets	97	25	3—Braddock	55	35

FOR—Conti	nued		AGAINST—Co	ntinued	
4—Mifflin	1,127	336	4-East Deer	16	245
5-Mt. Lebanon	776	282	5—Fawn	9	61
6—Ohio	74	36	6—Forward	68	153
7—Penn	752	323	7—Franklin	109	83
8—Pine	156	72	8—Frazier	10	III
9—Reserve	212	60	9—Hampton	264	242
10—Ross	590	182	10—Harrison	155	582
11—Sewickley Hghts	55	22	II-Kennedy	40	59
12—Snowden	216	23	12—Lincoln	17	123
13—South Fayette	341	150	13—Moon	73	273
14—Stowe	645	243	14—Neville	68	59
			15—O'Hara	68o	404
			16—Richland	209	162
			17—Scott	323	162
			18—Sewickley	21	21
			19—Shaler	686	404
			20—Springdale	56	29
			21—Upper St. Clair	63	128
			22—West Deer	117	319
			23—Wilkins	IIO	100
			24—North Versailles	285	365
			25—Patton	249	243
			26—Plum	132	247
			27—Versailles	37	334
			28—Collier	131	89
			29—Crescent	28	72
			30—Elizabeth	139	552
			31—Harmar	31	87
			32—Indiana	101	176
			33—McCandless	202	154
			34-North Fayette	212	124
			35—Findlay	95	142
			36—Robinson	151	98
			37—South Versailles	12	33
			38—Marshall	127	87
			39—Jefferson	191	367

The result of the first vote on the Metropolitan Plan having been presented in the foregoing, the reader will now be interested in a summary of the Plan, whose advocates are confident, in view of the overwhelming sentiment for it, that it will be adopted.

The Metropolitan charter for a federated City of Pittsburgh is in essence a borough and township plan. It has the twin advantages of conserving every autonomous right of such communities, at the same time conferring on them advantages to be gained through their federation for governmental and administrative purposes common to all.

Under the charter a method has been devised by which the 123 closely allied political municipal divisions of Allegheny County may act in concert

in solving important common problems, such as transportation, health, etc., with the unquestioned benefits of securing a higher census rating for the federated City of Pittsburgh (attracting new industry and creating new employment) yet at the same time not one becomes a part of the present City of Pittsburgh, and the fear of forcible annexation is allayed.

There is erected a constitutional protection against annexation, something the boroughs and townships of Allegheny County have not heretofore enjoyed.

If the charter secures popular ratification the Legislature cannot hereafter overturn the constitutional protection now offered, and this is regarded as a major reason why citizens of boroughs and townships should vote "yes," thus maintaining for all time their independence and their right of self-determination in matters of local government.

The growth of industry and population is away from the present City of Pittsburgh and toward the suburbs. Industrial expansion in Allegheny County, to follow the establishment of this community as the fourth or fifth city of the country, would be of more benefit to the boroughs and townships than the county's big city.

There is nothing in the charter to cause any increase in taxation. The only increased cost is for four additional commissioners, at an aggregate of \$48,000 a year. Economies of operation possible under the charter will more than offset this increase, the fixed limit of which is known in advance. Not one extra mill of taxation is required to establish the federated city and continue all the present functions of the county, the cities, the boroughs and townships.

By the charter the following guarantees, among others, are made to the boroughs and townships:

Constitutional protection against forcible annexation through legislative act.

Continued control of their local police and fire departments. Full control over their local taxes and bonding powers, as at present. The continuance of their present offices and official forms of government.

Maintenance of their present control of streets, local public works, and utilities.

Constitutional assurance that the metropolitan indebtedness or rate of taxation cannot exceed the limit now fixed for Allegheny County, unless the increase be equally applied to the whole State of Pennsylvania.

As will be observed in the appended analysis of the metropolitan plan amendment, governing every charter which may be submitted, the federated city will be the successor of the present county government, which with the charter's ratification will cease to exist.

# ARTICLE I

# GENERAL PROVISIONS

This article of the metropolitan plan constitutional amendment provides for the creation of the proposed new "City of Pittsburgh." It safeguards the local self-government of the present cities, boroughs and townships of Allegheny County. It continues them with their present names and existing boundaries except that the present City of Pittsburgh will be officially designated as "Pittsburgh" unless the latter's officers select another name. The present laws, relative to cities, boroughs and townships are continued in force except only as this charter otherwise provides.

The charter does not change or interfere with any present or future law of the state relating to the administration of public schools, the poor district of Allegheny County and its directors, juries and jury commissioners, public libraries, law library, or state highways, state reward for township roads, or state-aid highways. It continues these as if the consolidated city were a county only and not a city. The charter transfers to the federated city all the property, rights, interests and indebtedness of Allegheny County.

The federated city also will succeed to the rights and obligations of the various communities of the county affecting public utilities, as they may serve metropolitan purposes. However, it does not intrude upon the rights of individual communities in their local service and relations. In cases where agreements entitle a community to use any portion of the authorized facilities for its own purpose that community will continue to enjoy the same privilege during the life of the agreement.

# ARTICLE II

# Powers

This article confers on the new city all powers of the present Allegheny County, but allows municipal divisions the right to adopt public health regulations not conflicting with those of the consolidated city. It confers the power to regulate erection of signs, fences, billboards, buildings and structures along any metropolitan through-traffic street or county road but forbids interference with any existing local ordinance governing their erection. The new city may make zoning regulations but these cannot conflict or supersede present zoning ordinances in any city, borough or township. The new city may remedy, however needed, the water supply problems of communities. But there can be no interference with any present municipally-owned water system.

This article gives the consolidated city the power to solve certain traffic problems, including the transportation problem of city and suburbs. It provides for general smoke-control regulations. It gives the power to pro-

vide a system of retirement allowances for old age and disability, and of death benefits to dependents, applicable to regular officers of the consolidated city, to take over and merge the existing pension fund into this retirement system and to provide for the insurance of any of its employees and their dependents, against the consequences of injuries received in line of duty. But it safeguards the existing rights of employees under present pension funds.

# ARTICLE III

# BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS

This article provides for a Board of Commissioners of seven members. It gives to the whole county greater representation than at present. All the commissioners will be elected at large, but six of the seven must be residents of districts specified in Article XV, which creates four divisions. One, the present City of Pittsburgh, will be represented by three commissioners. The remaining three districts will be represented by one commissioner each. Each of these six commissioners must have lived in the district he is to represent for at least five years. There is no residence limitations on the seventh commissioner.

The present county commissioners continue in office until January, 1932. The first election of commissioners will be held in November, 1931, those elected taking office the first Monday of January, 1932, their term of office and that of their successors being four years. The president of the board will receive \$15,000 per year. Each of the six others \$12,000 annually, but the salaries of the present county commissioners remain during their term of office as they are now. The board chooses its president from among its own members.

This article also provides for the widest publicity being given proposed ordinances. It requires that within three days after the introduction of an ordinance, an abstract of its important provisions be published once in a daily newspaper published in the consolidated city and of general circulation. But, if the ordinance relates to less than the whole consolidated city, and affects any one or more of the municipal divisions or any part it must be published in a local daily newspaper published in the district affected. If there is no such daily local newspaper, then it must be published in a local weekly newspaper, if there is one in the section affected.

The records of the board must be open to the public. A workable budget system is provided to place the finances of the government on a sound basis.

# ARTICLE IV

# COUNTY OFFICERS

The offices of sheriff, coroner, controller, district attorney, prothonotary, treasurer, clerk of courts, register of wills and recorder of deeds remain as at present, with no change in salaries. They will be elected by the people.

The article provides for the election of sheriff and coroner at the regular municipal election this year and every four years thereafter.

The present controller, district attorney, prothonotary, clerk of courts, register of wills, treasurer and recorder of deeds fill out the terms for which they have been elected. After that the elected term of office will be four years.

# ARTICLE V

# ELECTIONS

The method and manner of holding elections are covered by the laws of Pennsylvania. Vacancies in any elective office of the consolidated city due to death, resignation, or any other cause are to be filled by appointment by the Court of Common Pleas for the unexpired balance of the term. The appointment must be signed by a majority of the judges of Common Pleas Court.

After the 1930 Federal census but not before 1932, and each following 10-year census, the board of commissioners are empowered to divide the consolidated city into districts. District No. 1 will be the municipal district of Pittsburgh. Districts Nos. 2, 3 and 4, respectively, shall contain, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants. These districts shall be composed of adjoining and compact territory, except in cases where a separate community is wholly surrounded by a municipal division of Pittsburgh, it may be part of the district outside Pittsburgh to which it is most nearly contiguous measuring from nearest boundary to nearest boundary.

# ARTICLE VI

# Administrative Service

The president of the board of commissioners is the chief executive of the consolidated city. He will appoint and remove employees of his own office, and with the consent of the board of commissioners, he will appoint all departmental heads of the administrative service of the consolidated city. Directors of the departments are given power to appoint other officers and employees of their departments.

# ARTICLE VII

# FINANCE AND TAXATION

This article gives to the controller the powers and duties of the controller of Allegheny County. He is given access to all books, records and cash in the office of the treasurer and the authority to inquire into all contracts, including their execution. He has supervision over all other proceedings involving the expenditure of public funds of the consolidated city. An expert system of accounting is set up. The controller is required to submit to the board of commissioners a monthly statement of revenues and expenditures, showing the exact financial condition of the consolidated city. The statement is made available to the public.

No contract, agreement or other obligation involving the expenditure of money can be entered into unless the controller certifies that there is sufficient money available for the purpose. The treasurer will collect all special assessments and taxes due the consolidated city. From and after the first Monday of January, 1932, the office of the collector of delinquent taxes of Allegheny County is abolished. The treasurer will assume these duties.

For the convenience of taxpayers, the treasurer is empowered to arrange with banks located throughout the consolidated city to receive tax payments.

Annually, and prior to the date when taxes are payable in advance, the treasurer will mail to each taxpayer a tax bill setting forth in detail such data as may be prescribed by the board of commissioners.

All property and persons will be assessed for taxation in the manner now provided by law for the purposes of taxation in Allegheny County. The board for the assessment and revision of taxes is retained, its members to be appointed by the board of commissioners.

Section 14 of this article states that "contracts for public works, supplies, materials and equipment of all kinds, requiring payments in excess of \$500, including public work to be paid for by special assessment and by district taxation, shall be publicly awarded, after public advertisement thereof, on the basis of competitive bids, to the lowest responsible bidder, in accordance with such procedure as ordinance: Provided, that the right to reject any and all bids and call for new bids shall always be reserved."

# ARTICLE VIII

# DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

The head of this department must be a doctor of medicine of at least five years' professional experience and licensed to practice medicine in Pennsylvania. The department may make and enforce regulations necessary for the

preservation of health not in conflict with the laws of the state, or the ordinances of the new city. No charge can be made for services rendered any municipal division not authorized by law to have a local health department or officer.

# ARTICLE IX

# DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

This department is given the powers and duties now possessed by the Department of Public Works of Allegheny County. It will include a Planning Commission, to be constituted as provided by law for county planning commissions in counties of the second class.

# ARTICLE X

# DEPARTMENT OF LAW

This article provides the consolidated city with its legal department, the director of which will be the solicitor of the consolidated city. He will take over the duties of the present county solicitor. The director will appoint all the employees of this department but in the appointment of his deputy or assistant solicitors, he must select one person designated by the controller and one designated by the sheriff. This because these officers have a personal financial responsibility in performing their offices.

This article also provides for a Bureau of Public Utility Relations in the Department of Law. It will represent the new city in dealings with public utilities before the Public Service Commission and in the courts in any matters relating to services, rates or valuations.

The Bureau of Public Utilities Relations also on request of a municipal division and with the approval of the solicitor of the federated city and the board of commissioners, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon, will act for a division or divisions in proceedings before the Public Service Commission of the States, in the courts of law or in any matters relating to services, rates or valuations.

# ARTICLE XI

# DEPARTMENT OF REGIONAL TRANSIT

This department will study the transportation needs of the new city. The director must be an engineer of at least 10 years' professional experience. There will be a regional transit commission consisting of the director and six other members. The members of the commission serve without compensation. In this department the outside divisions must be represented.

# ARTICLE XII

# SPECIAL ASSESSMENT

Improvements that are designated for the progress of more than one city, borough or township that borders on another, but which a single locality cannot afford to undertake by itself, are made possible by this article. Presentation of a petition signed by owners of land representing 60 per cent in interest of all real estate as determined by the last assessment roll within the proposed area to be improved, will serve as a veto on the power of the board of commissioners to proceed with the improvement.

In the application of this article, where a major public improvement is proposed, the district most directly benefited, and where there would be the greater proportionate increase in property values as a result, would bear a proportionate burden of the cost, and remote districts, to benefit only incidentally as all the county ultimately benefits from public improvements would share in the costs in reduced ratio.

# ARTICLE XIII

# MUNICIPAL DIVISIONS

This article guarantees to every city, borough and township its own corporate existence. It provides that no annexation can take place except after a favorable vote of the people in the territory to be annexed and also in the territory to which it is to be annexed. The cost of such elections must be born by the municipal divisions directly interested.

# ARTICLE XIV

# RATIFICATION AND AMENDMENT

This article is the one which provides for the submission of the charter to the vote of the people. It becomes effective if the majority of the electors of the county as a whole, and at least two-thirds of the county as a whole, and at least two-thirds of the electors voting on it at this election or any subsequent one in each of a majority of the cities, boroughs and townships, vote in the affirmative. It safeguards for all time the powers of the various cities, boroughs and townships by providing that no amendment reducing the powers of municipal divisions shall be effective unless passed by the Legislature and ratified by a majority vote of the electors in each of a majority of the municipal divisions in the county and a majority vote of the county as a whole.

# ARTICLE XV

# MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

This article sets up the districts for the election of the board of commissioners of which the members of the board of commissioners must be respectively residents. These districts stand until the board of commissioners realign the districts after the Federal census.

District No. 1 Pittsburgh

DISTRICT No. 2
McKeesport

# Boroughs

Braddock	North Braddock	East Pittsburgh	Forest Hills
Chalfant	Pitcairn	Edgewood	Glassport
East McKeesport	Port Vue	Elizabeth	Liberty

# Townships

Braddock	Turtle Creek	Forward	South Versailles
Elizabeth	Wall	Lincoln	Versailles
Rankin Swissvale	Wilkinsburg Wilmerding	North Versailles	

DISTRICT No. 3
Clairton—Duquesne

# Boroughs

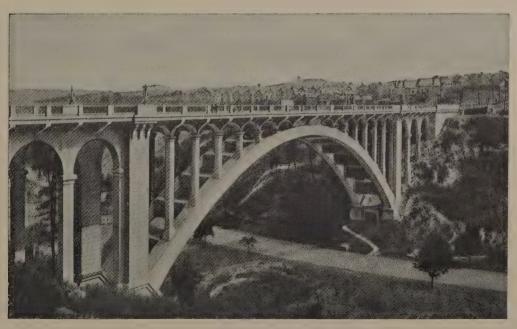
Brentwood Bridgeville Carnegie Castle Shannon Crafton	Dormont Dravosburg Greentree Heidelburg Homestead Wh	Ingram McKees Rocks Mount Oliver Mulhall Oakdale	Overbrook Rosslyn Farms Thornburg West Elizabeth West Homestead
Whitaker			

# Townships

Baldwin	Jefferson	Mt. Lebanon	Snowden
Bethel	Kennedy	Robinson	South Fayette
Collier	Mifflin	Scott	Stowe
	Un	per St. Clair	



18TH REGIMENT ARMORY, PITTSBURGH



LARIMER AVENUE BRIDGE, PITTSBURGH (The Largest Concrete Span in the World)



# DISTRICT No. 4

# Boroughs

Aspinwall Avalon Bellevue Ben Avon Ben Avon Hghts. Blawnox Brackenridge Bradford Woods Cheswick Coraopolis Edgeworth Emsworth	Osborne Sewickley Sharpsburg Springdale Tarentum Verona West_View	Fawn Findley Franklin Frazer Hampton Harmar Harrison Indiana Kilbuck Leet McCandless Marshall	Neville North Fayette O'Hara Ohio Patton Penn Pine Plum Reserve Richland Ross Sewickley Hghts.
	West View East Deer	Marshall Moon	Sewickley Hghts.

# Townships

Aleppo Shaler Spring		Crescent
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# PITTSBURGH'S GRADED TAX LAW

Hardly as important as the creation of a small city council in 1911 was the establishment of Pittsburgh's graded tax plan by the Act of 1913. Nevertheless, the Graded Tax Law is one of the most interesting developments in municipal science in America. The account of it which follows is by Percy R. Williams:

Pittsburgh's unique experiment in taxation has attracted widespread attention and there have been numerous inquiries, some of them from remote corners of the world, concerning the operation of the plan and the effects resulting therefrom. There has been a good deal of misconception, resulting in an exaggerated idea of what Pittsburgh is doing and leading some to anticipate something revolutionary in the way of effects.

The Pittsburgh tax plan may be briefly described as having two notable features:

- I. The entire tax revenue for municipal purposes is derived from taxes upon real estate. There are no taxes levied by the city government on any other form of property or income.
- 2. The municipal tax rate on buildings is fixed at one-half of the tax rate levied upon land. This latter feature is known as "the graded tax."

# EVOLUTION OF THE GRADED TAX

The graded tax has been in process of evolution since the year 1913, when the law was passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature. It has now reached its goal, the ultimate point contemplated by the law having been attained on

January 1, 1925, when the half-rate on buildings became effective. The law provided for the partial exemption from taxation of improvements upon real estate, with the ratio of exemption increasing at each triennial assessment. This partial exemption has been effected, not, as commonly assumed, by reducing the assessed valuation of buildings, but by fixing from year to year a lesser tax rate on buildings than that levied upon land. The law became effective January 1, 1914, and there have been five successive steps, corresponding to the triennial assessment periods, in each step a certain proportion of the tax burden being shifted from buildings to land; in the first period, 1914-15, the building rate being 90 per cent of the land rate; in the second period, 1916-18, 80 per cent; 1919-21, 70 per cent; 1922-24, 60 per cent, and in 1925 and thereafter, 50 per cent. (Note Exhibit "A.")

EXHIBIT "A"

Comparative Statements of City Tax Rates
Under Graded Tax Plan

	Land Tax	Building Tax	Flat Rate Tax Required to Raise
Year	Mills	Mills	Same Revenue
1914	9.4	8.46	9.05
1915	10.2	9.18	9.8
1916	12.6	10.08	11.63
1917	11.5	9.2	10.6
1918	14.5	11.6	13.3
<b>1</b> 919	15.7	10.99	13.6
1920	19.	13.3	16.6
1921	20.	14.	17.5
1922	20.	12.	16.5
1923	20.	12.	16.58
1924	20.	12.	16.46
1925	19.5	9.75	15.2
1926	22.4	11.2	17.2
1927	22.4	11.2	17.2
1928	25.	12.5	19.
1929	25.	12.5	19.

Compiled by Pittsburgh Assessor's Office.

While Scranton is governed by the same act, it being necessary to include in its provision both of the second-class cities of the state in order to meet the constitutional requirements, the graded tax law is distinctly a Pittsburgh idea. The proposal was originally sponsored by the Pittsburgh Civic Commission, which for a number of years was one of the most influential civic bodies of the community. But it was largely through the political influence exerted upon the Legislature by Mayor William A. Magee, then serving his first term, that the proposal was quickly enacted into law.

# EFFECT OF THE GRADED TAX PLAN

With the graded tax plan now fully effective, it is possible to tell, in general terms, just what the new tax system means to Pittsburgh and its taxpayers.

There is, of course, no loss of revenue through the graded tax. The law of 1913 has no effect whatever on revenues or upon expenditures. It simply brings about a shifting in sources of revenue. Its effect is upon the respective tax rates on land and buildings which are fixed annually by the city council at such figures as will produce the sum estimated as necessary to meet the expenditures set forth in the budget.

Careless writers have frequently stated that Pittsburgh has reduced building taxes 50 per cent. This, of course, is not literally true. What they mean to convey is that, through a gradual process, the building taxes levied by the city have been brought to a point where they bear a ratio of 50 per cent to the city land taxes. The building tax rate would not have been reduced as much as 50 per cent, even had real estate values and government costs remained stationary at the 1913 figures, because we must, of course, take into account the automatic increase in the rate of the land tax which has been taking place as contemplated under the law. The estimate made on the basis of 1913 figures was that, if the law were then to become fully effective, the tax rate on buildings would be reduced 40 per cent. But the proportion of land and building valuation has changed materially since 1013. building values steadily gaining on land values, and, what is more important, the cost of government serving has tremendously increased everywhere, as have all costs that enter into the cost of living and the cost of doing business. So, the building tax rate in Pittsburgh is actually higher today than it was in 1913, but only very slightly higher so far as city taxes are concerned, because the operation of the graded tax law has steadily reduced the ratio of the building tax to the land tax.

The city tax on buildings in 1913 (under the uniform rate plan) was \$8.90 per thousand dollars of valuation; it is \$12.50 per thousand in 1929. This means that our city buildings tax has gone up in this 16-year period of soaring taxes only to the extent of \$3.60 per thousand, while on the other hand, our city land tax has gone up from \$8.90 to \$25 per thousand, an increase of \$16.10.

# SHIFT OF TAX FROM BUILDINGS TO LAND

Exactly what does the graded tax mean to the taxpayer in dollars and cents? It means that buildings pay \$6.50 less per thousand dollars of valuation than they would pay if the old flat rate system were in effect. It means that land pays \$6 more per thousand than would be required under the flat-

rate system. Land, therefore, pays \$12.50 per thousand more than buildings. The city tax rates for 1929 were \$25 on land and \$12.50 on buildings (per thousand dollars), and these rates raised a revenue of approximately \$21,000,000. To raise the same revenue with a flat tax rate would require a levy of approximately \$21,000,000. To raise the same revenue with a flat tax rate would require a levy of approximately \$19 per thousand. The effect of the graded tax on the tax figures can therefore be accurately measured by the difference between \$19 and the present rates, and similar calculations have been made that enable us to compare the rates required under the respective systems for each year that the graded tax has been in operation.

In wholesale terms, this signified that there was a shifting for the year 1929 of approximately \$3,500,000 in taxes from buildings to land. The total assessed valuations for 1929 were: land, \$574,589,080; buildings, \$562,017,070; total valuation, \$1,136,606,150. Under the graded tax law land values in Pittsburgh paid a total city tax for 1929 of approximately \$14,400,000, while at the rate of \$19, which would have prevailed, were the old tax system now effective, the taxes on land would have been only about \$10,900,000. Building, under the graded tax paid in taxes \$7,000,000, while at the rate of \$19, this figure would have been raised to approximately \$10,500,000. These figures confirm the fact that there has been a shift from buildings to land of about \$3,500,000, a very considerable item out of a total city tax revenue of \$21,400,000.

# PLAN LIMITED IN ITS APPLICATION

As the graded tax law is the only tax law of its kind in the United States, there has naturally been much discussion as to its effect, not only upon the tax situation itself, but upon real estate conditions. Therefore, before proceeding further into the discussion, it is important to note that the foregoing figures, though very significant, relate only to city taxes, in the strict sense of the term. This \$21,000,000 raised by the city from real estate is by no means the entire tax revenue that is obtained from Pittsburgh real estate, as it is found, upon examination, that the board of public education and the County of Allegheny together raise from Pittsburgh real estate the approximate sum of \$21,400,000. And in the collection of this vast sum there is no exemption of buildings whatever, as neither the school tax nor the county tax is levied under the terms of the graded tax law, this measure relating to city taxes only.

The board of public education, representing the school district of Pittsburgh, a political unit distinct from the city itself, raised from taxes on Pittsburgh real estate the approximate sum of \$13,000,000 in 1929 by a flat rate of \$11.50 per thousand, the school tax being based upon the city's assessed valuations. Of this total sum, approximately \$6,400,000 was from

building assessments. When these figures are added to the city taxes we find that the combined taxes derived from land amount to \$21,000,000, while the combined taxes on buildings total \$13,400,000.

The County of Allegheny raises from taxes on Pittsburgh real estate the approximate sum of \$8,400,000 by a flat rate of \$7.375 per thousand. It is not possible to give the definite distribution of this sum into land and buildings, as the county tax is based upon the county's assessed valuations, which do not separate land and buildings, though the proportion allotted to each would probably not differ greatly from that shown under the city's assessments for the school tax.

These facts tend to show the limitations of Pittsburgh's graded tax system as it now stands with present legislation fully effective, and to indicate to just what extent the building exemption plan has been carried. The facts cited show how far Pittsburgh is from the single tax, either "unlimited" or "limited" and thus serve to give a better understanding of the Pittsburgh tax experiment, which is really a moderate tax reform applied in a very conservative manner. Nevertheless, it marks a very distinct departure from the general practice of American municipalities, and the material change which it has made in the distribution of the tax burden makes it reasonable to look for certain moderate effects upon real estate conditions.

# PLAN STIMULATES IMPROVEMENT OF LAND

Mr. Williams agrees with most friends of the graded tax in the judgment that it has tended to stimulate the improvement of real estate. It has been said that there is entire absence of evidence that the graded tax has influenced the erection of a single building. And perhaps actual proof that it has done so cannot be given, because it is very difficult to determine just what motives are most influential in inducing the builder to build. Yet friends and opponents of the graded tax alike agree that the higher land tax has been influential in inducing those who had held large tracts of land idle to sell at more reasonable prices, because the holding of vacant land for long periods is becoming unprofitable.

Mr. Williams writes:

We know that Pittsburgh has had a real boom in building during the past several years and has made a record for new construction never before equalled in the city's history.

Building permit statistics show that building operations have much more than doubled, both in value and number, during the period of the graded tax. For the five years, ended December 31, 1928, the totals for building construction in Pittsburgh proper (no suburbs included) average close to 40 million dollars annually, while in the years prior to the

adoption of the graded tax, the totals for building construction did not exceed 14 millions in any one year.

Another index to the improvement of real estate in Pittsburgh is provided by the record of total assessed valuations. During the fifteen-year period that the graded tax has been in operation, the assessed building values of Pittsburgh have increased 280 million dollars, or in other words, have practically doubled, while assessed land values have increased only 94 million dollars.\*

Assessed building values increased from 282 millions in 1914 to 562 millions approximately, in 1929. Assesssed land values increased from 480 million dollars in 1914 to 574 millions, approximately, in 1929.

The Pittsburgh Civic Commission, in its tax revision bulletin of 1012. contended that high land prices, with accompanying high land rents, were one of the chief obstacles to Pittsburgh's progress, and a survey made at that time brought out the fact that the average value of land per acre in Pittsburgh, as shown by assessments, was second only to that of New York City. This indicated that Pittsburgh's land prices were abnormally high and it was an avowed purpose of the graded tax plan to lower land prices or to retard the rising process. No careful analysis has been undertaken such as would be necessary to bring out all the facts as to what has taken place with relation to land values since the graded tax law has been on the statutes, but it seems beyond doubt from the evidence at hand that it has had a tendency toward lower land prices; that is to say that while land values constantly rise in all growing communities, the higher tax on land has prevented such inflation as we have witnessed in our own community in times past and such as has taken place in other large cities in recent years. Yet it is fair in speaking of the higher land tax, to point out that the increased cost of local government has been responsible for this higher land tax to a greater extent than the graded tax law itself. Combining city and school taxes on land, we find an increase from \$14.90 per thousand in 1913 to \$36.50 per thousand in 1929, or a gain of \$21.60, of which \$15.60 represents the increase in the cost of public service and only \$6 represents the increase due to the shifting of taxes from buildings to land.

But while judgments may differ as to the exact effects of the graded tax upon real estate conditions, the fact as to its results in lower taxes is subject to positive proof, being merely a matter of arithmetic. Since the first of the year 1925, when the graded tax law became fully effective, a study has been made from the official records of the department of assessors which reveals some very interesting facts.

<sup>\*</sup> Figures of 1928-9.

# OWNERS OF IMPROVED PROPERTY BENEFITED

While we have not undertaken an analysis of the entire city, our study of the tax situation has gone far enough to clearly indicate that the great majority of real estate owners are saving money in taxes through the graded tax law, in most cases this saving amounting to a very substantial percentage of their city taxes. It follows, of course, that the owners of vacant or under-improved land are paying higher taxes, as contemplated by the sponsors of the law, which, as already intimated, means that such land, where valuable enough to pay a considerable tax, is not likely to remain vacant or under-improved for a long period.

Owners of improved property of all classes are benefiting in lower taxes by reason of the graded tax law. Our survey of a large number of typical cases shows very great annual savings in taxes paid by various office buildings, manufacturing plants, warehouses, apartment buildings and single-family dwellings, the degree of the saving varying with the size and type of building in relation to the value of the land upon which it stands. Several of the large downtown office building properties show how tax saving (by reason of the graded tax) for the year 1929 ranged from 10 to 17 per cent, in some instances the actual savings in taxes for the one year being in excess of \$8,000.

Apartment houses almost uniformly show substantial savings in taxes under the graded tax for the reason that they are usually structures of some size and value erected upon land of moderate price such as is to be found in residential districts. Several of the larger apartments show savings as high as 30 per cent, in one case the actual tax saving being over \$11,000 for one year. Pittsburgh's largest hotel is shown to be the biggest tax saver, measured in dollars, the tax savings in this instance for one year being nearly \$13,000. On the other hand, a number of manufacturing plants and department stores occupying valuable land may be found which will not show any direct benefit in lower taxes from the graded tax, but as an offset to this, it should be remembered that very substantial savings have been made by manufacturers through the act of 1911 completely exempting all machinery from taxation, while the big department store is entirely free of taxation upon its stock of goods, whereas in other cities such stores pay heavy taxes on their "personal property."

But it is the home owner who stands out as the chief direct beneficiary of the graded tax. Only in rare instances do we find a home owner who has not been benefited to some degree by lower taxes through the operation of the graded tax law. The most striking example of the effect upon taxes on homes is afforded by an analysis of the taxes paid by property owners in the 13th ward, a typical residence ward, which shows that out of a total of 4,252

assessments, there are 3,250 cases where the taxes paid under the graded tax are less than would be paid under the old flat-rate system, these savings ranging from 5 to 30 per cent. Of the remaining 1,002 assessments where the taxes paid under the graded tax system are higher, it is interesting to note that 980 of these represent vacant lots, leaving only 22 "improved" properties that are not paying lower taxes, and these 22 are properties that are not very adequately improved.

There has been an impression in the minds of many that the owners of large office buildings profit by the graded tax at the expense of the home owners because of the relatively small building investment of the latter. This assumption, however, is altogether contrary to the facts. The high land values in the downtown business district, known as the "Golden Triangle," much more than offset and cancel the partial exemption of the skyscrapers and other large structures in that section, while the home owner, though possessing a structure that seems insignificant by comparison with the skyscraper, is apt to find the value of his building from two to five times greater than the value of the land upon which it stands, and, of course, every property owner whose building value exceeds his land value on the assessment books is paying lower taxes through the operation of the graded tax. Nor is it essential that his building value should exceed his land value. If the land value is equal to the building value, his taxes will be lower under the graded tax as long as the present ratio between the total assessed valuations of land and buildings is maintained, the total of land valuations for 1929 exceeding the total of building valuations by about \$16,000,000. The city building tax rate is now 35 per cent lower by reason of the graded tax than it would be under the old system and this has made a substantial difference in the tax bill of the average home owner, who is more concerned with building taxes than he is with the taxes on land.

Our survey, continues Mr. Williams, develops the fact that it is only the exceptional business structure in the downtown district that has a value sufficient to offset the high land value and thus show a saving through the graded tax. A study of approximately 1,200 property assessments in the "Golden Triangle" (comprised of parts of the 1st and 2nd wards), shows that only 8 per cent, or about one out of twelve, pay lower taxes by reason of the graded tax. Since high land values are always to be found in the heart of the business district of a city, it is obvious that, under either the old or the new system, the downtown wards must pay the greater share of real estate taxes, but the higher the land tax, the greater is the proportion paid by the downtown section.\*

<sup>\*</sup>City Councilman Robert Garland has also published an appreciative study of the graded tax law.

# PRESENT STANDING OF THE PLAN

The expediency of the graded tax plan lies in the fact that it means tax relief for the majority of taxpayers and that it encourages the improvement of real estate, thus stimulating the development of the community. The justice of the graded tax plan rests upon the fact that land values are socially created, growing with the growth of population and the extension of public improvements, and are, therefore, in a peculiar sense, a natural and logical source of public revenue.

Naturally, the graded tax has not been without opposition. It has been fought by those largely interested in unimproved land, as well as by some who are opposed to the plan in principle. Its repeal has been attempted on several occasions, but its friends have rallied on each occasion and frustrated these efforts. It has been defended by the leading civic organizations, and the daily press is practically unanimous in declaring for the maintenance of the law upon the statutes.

# TAX SAVINGS UNDER THE GRADED TAX PLAN

OFFIC	CE BUILDINGS		
	Old Plan	Graded Tax	Tax Savings
Name	Flat Rate	Total 1929	1929
Koppers Building	\$51,850.00	\$43,224.00	\$8,626.00
Grant Building	51,864.49	43,242.75	8,621.74
Clark Building	60,154.00	53,525.00	6,629.00
Law and Finance Building	20,881.76	16,363.50	4,518.26
Plaza Building	18,034.80	16,230.00	1,804.80
Frick Building	70,608.00	62,906.00	7,702.00
Oliver Building	86,854.00	81,157.00	5,697.00
Frick Building Annex	25,965.00	23,540.00	2,425.00
Union Bank Building	24,400.00	22,106.00	2,294.00
Fulton Building	27,841.00	26,008.00	1,833.00
Bessemer Building	23,054.00	21,272.00	1,782.00
Westinghouse Building	14,805.00	13,231.00	1,574.00
Commonwealth Building	18,491.00	18,081.00	410.00
Keystone Bank Building	11,774.00	11,429.00	345.00
Carnegie Building	34,393.00	34,005.00	388.00
Keenan Building	13,611.00	13,410.00	201.00
Highland Building	9,403.00	7,337.00	2,030.00
Union Trust Building	110,450.00	109,205.00	1,245.00
Peoples Bank Building	17,248.00	17,070.00	178.00
Benedum Trees Building	10,925.00	9,062.00	1,863.00
Federal Reserve Building	10,716.00	9,725.00	991.00
Century Building	4,845.00	4,500.00	345.00
Jones Law Building	8,654.00	8,012.00	642.00
Arrott Building	15,781.00	15,515.00	266.00
Manufacturers Building	13,148.00	11,050.00	2,098.00
Keystone Club Building	24,603.86	22,373.50	2,230.36

# TAX SAVINGS UNDER THE GRADED TAX PLAN-Continued

HOTELS AND APARTMENTS

HOTELS A	AND APARTME	INTS	
	Old Plan	Graded Tax	Tax Savings
Name	Flat Rate	· Total 1929	1929
William Penn Hotel	121,153.50	108,162.00	12,991.50
Pittsburgher Hotel	18,927.80	15,530.00	3,397.80
Hotel Roosevelt	45,372.00	44,387.00	985.00
Webster Hall	22,075.00	16,547.00	5,528.00
Fairfax Hotel	18,545.00	13,076.00	5,469.00
Schenley Apartments	47,516.15.	36,208.75	11,307.40
Bellefield Apartments	6,600.41	4,684.75	1,915.66
Ruskin Apartments	18,057.98	12,885.50	5,172.48
King Edward Apartments	7,808.81	5,586.50	2,222.31
Belvidere Apartments	2,086.01	1,557.25	528.76
Terrace Court Apartments	5,020.56	3,606.00	1,414.56
Alder Court Apartments	3,607.15	2,619.38	987.77
Wightman Apartments	1,332.85	941.25	391.60
Morrowfield Apartments	15,074.22	10,459.50	4,614.72
Georgian Apartments	4,365.25	3,243.75	1,121.50
Georgian Jr. Apartments	1,368.00	988.00	380.00
Morewood Gardens	15,852.34	11,109.00	4,743.34
Cathedral Mansions	18,230.00	12,738.00	5,492.00
Frontenac Apartments	4,864.00	3,463.00	1,401.00
Haddon Hall	3,595.00	2,605.00	990.00
Center Court Apartments	4,069.00	2,980.00	1,098.00
Schenley Arms Apartments	2,908.00	2,013.00	895.00
Loutellus Apartments	5,149.00	3,650.00	1,499.00
Adrian Apartments	2,197.00	1,641.00	556.00
Bayard Manor Apartments	2,513.00	1,862.00	651.00
Saybrook Apartments	4,938.00	3,685.00	1,253.00
	ESIDENCES		
Charles Masur	118.75	85.00	33.75
Samuel Rattner	140.60	110.00	30.60
Michael J. Feeney	566.20	470.00	96.20
John Lauderbeck	34.20	26.25	7.95
Mark Papich	52.25	43.75	8.50
Margaret Arensberg	383.42	310.75	72.67
Rose V. Kraeling	551.00	443.75	107.25
Anna B. Miller	95.57	69.50	26.07
Mary V. Lee	41.23	29.25	11.98
MANUFAC	TURING PLAN		
Westinghouse Elec. and Mfg. Co.	11,864.93	9,454.25	2,410.68
Pittsburgh Equitable Meter Co	7,766.06	6,409.75	1,356.31
National Biscuit Co	21,960.20	18,220.00	3,740.20
Eatmore Chocolate Co	7,852.13	6,919.25	932.88
A. J. Logan Co.	4,010.52	3,529.50	481.02
Liberty Baking Co	6,839.05	7,498.75	1,340.30
Rieck McJunkin Dairy Co	10,191.98	9,126.75	1,065.23
Armstrong Cork Co	14,987.20	12,932.50	2,054.70
D. L. Clark Co.	7,560.48	6,085.50	1,474.98
Alling & Cory Co	4,070.56	3,606.00	464.56
	4,0,0.30	3,000.00	404.50

# CITY AND COUNTY PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

In January, 1924, Allegheny County inaugurated a program of public improvements unprecedented in the history of the county. Sponsored by the Board of County Commissioners, consisting of Joseph G. Armstrong, Chairman, James Houlahen, and Addison C. Gumbert, who at his death in April, 1925, was succeeded by E. V. Babcock, the people of Allegheny County approved the issuance of bonds to the extent of \$29,207,000 for new bridges, roads and buildings. The County Department of Public Works was created so that the County Commissioners would have a responsive engineering organization to carry out the mandates of the people in an efficient and expeditious manner.

From January 1, 1924, to January 1, 1928, road, bridge and tunnel improvements costing approximately \$40,000,000 were completed or placed under construction. This includes all projects in both the \$29,000,000 people's bond issue and the annual routine work required in the county, paid out of taxes and Commissioners' bonds. Included in this work was the construction of 41 bridges costing approximately \$21,500,000. Among these major bridge projects were the Sixth, Seventh and Ninth Street Bridges, Thirty-first Street Bridge, New Kensington Bridge, Point Bridge, Liberty Bridge, Turtle Creek Bridge, Coraopolis Bridge, John P. Moore Memorial Bridge, Jack's Run Bridge, Thornburg-Crafton Bridge, and others.

There was also completed and placed under construction 145 miles of improved roads, costing approximately \$13,500,000. During this period the Road Maintenance Division of the County Department of Public Works resurfaced and reconditioned 200 miles of existing roads at an approximate cost of \$4,000,000.

The Armstrong Tunnel was completed and opened to the public at a cost of \$1,500,000.

One feature of this work was the dispatch with which the program was carried out and the virtual absence of inconvenience to the public while it was in progress.

A striking evidence of the cooperative attitude of the public officials toward the public came when toward the close of the 1924 construction program a great number of influential civic and business organizations took action for the purpose of inaugurating other great public improvements. The Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Ohio River Boulevard Association, Allegheny River Boulevard Association, Saw Mill Run Boulevard Association, and others took the initiative in promoting a new bond issue totaling \$43,-680,000, which was approved by the people June 26, 1928, largely through the efforts of these unofficial groups.

The influence of these bodies demonstrated in an unanswerable manner

that the people at large feel that they have a voice not only in voting for improvements that are submitted to them, but that they have power and influence in initiating new projects.

This people's bond issue totaling \$43,680,000 which was approved June 26, 1928, was a people's bond issue in reality as well as in name. It included a far more diversified program of public improvement than its predecessor of 1924, because it not only included roads and bridges, but also such items as a town hall, an airport, and public parks, all of which are essential to the development of a progressive community.

There may be some ultra-conservatives who may think the county is going into excessive public improvements. In this connection it is only fair to remind them that for 20 years previous to the expenditures authorized in 1924, the community, due to the war and other causes, had been dilatory in carrying on its annual normal necessary public improvements. As a matter of fact, the public-works program of 1924, with the exception of the Liberty and the Armstrong Tunnels and a few other projects, advanced the status of the county not as much as might first appear. This money was spent largely for the reconstruction of roads and bridges already in service; it was used to modernize existing facilities rather than to create new ones; it involved spending money not so much for the purpose of progressing as for the purpose of maintaining the county's facilities; it was a defensive maneuver rather than a militant advance.

The 1928 bond issue decidedly embodied a progressive program. It contained not only the modern features such as the airport, town hall, and public park mentioned above, but included bridges at locations where there had been no previous river crossings, and it included also four great boulevards to provide facilities for rapid transportation in locations where no such facilities existed previously.

A detailed list of the projects included in the 1928 bond issue is tabulated below:

### ROADS

Construction of new highways; reconstruction and widening of existing highways; joint road improvements; elimination of dangerous rail-road grade crossings; elimination of dangerous curves and erection of safety barriers	\$ 6,550,000
Boulevards	
Moss Side Boulevard	800,000
Saw Mill Run Boulevard	1,162,000
Ohio River Boulevard	5,343,000
Allegheny River Boulevard	3,535,000
COUNTY PARKS	
Improving North and South Parks	1,500,000

# BRIDGES

McKees Rocks Bridge over the Ohio River	6,885,000
West-End North Side Bridge over the Ohio River	3,540,000
Reconstruction of South Tenth Street Bridge over the Monongahela River	1,925,000
Reconstruction of Boston Bridge over the Youghiogheny River	900,000
Construction of 29 minor county bridges	1,400,000
COUNTY OFFICE BUILDING	2,550,000
Public Auditorium, Town Hall	6,000,000
AVIATION FIELD, Modern Airport	1,500,000
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

Total ......\$43,680,000

Supplementing the \$72,887,000 thus appropriated by Allegheny County for public improvements financed by bond issues in 1924 and 1928, the City of Pittsburgh inaugurated almost simultaneously a comprehensive improvement program, beginning in 1919 with an issue of \$14,000,000 in bonds, of which \$6,000,000 was provided for a downtown subway (not yet started in 1931) and out of which the important traffic artery known as the Boulevard of the Allies was financed. In 1926 the city taxpayers sanctioned another bond issue, this time for not far from \$20,000,000.

Assisted by the approval by the public of the bond issue of 1926, the City of Pittsburgh has been engaged in a very extensive program of public improvements involving every variety of public works.

The growth of the city in recent years is evidenced by the magnitude of expenditures for public works and the rate of increase of such expenditures over that of previous years. Not only have large sums been expended in the upkeep of the city's streets, bridges, waterworks and sewerage system, but increasingly large amounts are being expended in original improvements. The amount being expended by the city in improvement work has increased from an annual average of about \$2,200,000 based on value of contracts awarded for the period of 1922 to 1925 inclusive, to an annual average expenditure of over \$5,000,000 for the years 1926 to 1928 inclusive, these figures being based on the value of contracts awarded exclusive of property damages and engineering costs.

This growth in the value and number of public works contracts is illustrated in the following table:

	Number of	Cost of
	Contracts	Contracts
Year	Awarded	Awarded
1922	123	\$1,523,000
1923	158	2,475,000
1924	140	2,253,000
1925	152	2,572,000
1926	208	3,444,000
1927	218	6,227,000
1928	281	5,516,000

The foregoing does not include funds expended in the operation of the waterworks, maintenance work on streets and bridge or extensions to the city's water supply system, which are carried out by city employees, the last being a very considerable item.

Public work activities including new construction, operation, replacement and maintenance are financed in the following manner by the city: Operating expenses, ordinary maintenance and repairs, such as waterworks operation, upkeep of streets, sewers and bridges and similar functions are charged to appropriations from tax funds, for which provision is made in the annual budget; widening of streets, other extensions and extraordinary replacements are financed either by councilmanic or people's bond issue; original improvements of streets and the construction of sewers thereon are carried out under what is known as assessment proceedings, abutting property owners being assessed to the average amount of approximately 90 per cent of the entire cost, for benefits received, the city paying the balance.

During the years 1926, 1927 and 1928, total funds in excess of \$35,000,000 have been made available for improvement projects and for extraordinary replacements, which funds are inclusive of the amount expended annually for operation and ordinary maintenance.

A summarized statement of funds provided follows:

People's bond issue of 1926, including balance of \$1,360,000 from 1919	
people's bond issue and an amount of \$1,257,000 of funds contributed by	
Allegheny County and railroad companies; total	\$19,168,000
People's bond issue of 1928	7,248,000
Councilmanic bond issue of 1926, waterworks improvement	147,000
Gross cost of street and sewer assessment projects expended and available	
for original improvements	5,857,000
Total annual appropriations for repaving, including contributions Pittsburgh	
Railways Co	2,520,000
Bridge repairs and replacements	375,000
Special appropriation for waterworks	390,000
Total	\$25.705.000

In order to carry out the extensive program of new work and administer properly the work of operation and maintenance, special consideration was given by the city authorities to the development of an efficient and adequate engineering organization in the Department of Public Works. A reorganization was effected early in 1926 when Edward G. Lang became Director of the Department of Public Works. A departmental engineering staff was created, and the engineering staffs of the various bureaus of the department were expanded.

Under Director Lang the general staff of the department consists of Charles M. Reppert, Chief Engineer; Ross M. Riegel, Departmental Design-



CITY-COUNTY BUILDING, PITTSBURGH



ing Engineer; Fred W. Lyon, Assistant Chief Engineer in charge of construction and supervision; Nathan Schein, Division Engineer in charge of parks and playground improvements.

The assignment of functions in the bureaus of the department in the spring of 1930 was as follows:

The Bureau of Water has charge of the entire waterworks; the Bureau of Engineering, Tom M. Reed, Chief Engineer, has charge of all street and sewer improvement work; the Bureau of Bridges and Structures, John D. Stevenson, Chief Engineer, has charge of bridges and structures; the Bureau of Highways and Sewers, Charles A. Hillegas, Superintendent, in charge of street and sewer maintenance; Bureau of Tests, J. J. Paint, Chief Engineer, has charge of testing of all materials used in city work; the Division of Utilities of the Bureau of Highways and Sewers has charge of all relations with public utility companies. The other bureaus of the department, those of Parks, City Property, Bureau of Light, Bureau of Recreation, are largely of an administrative nature.

A brief résumé of the more important improvement projects under way in the city at the beginning of 1930 follows:

The requirements of the city waterworks were very carefully studied with a view to insuring an adequate supply and in order to increase the economy of operation. The Ross pumping station, the primary pumping station of the city water supply, has been rehabilitated; new mechanical equipment of an improved type, including turbines, centrifugal pumps and high-pressure boilers has been installed. About \$600,000 has been expended at this station. An improved intake at Ross costing about \$400,000 has also been installed to eliminate the risk and hazard involved in the old and deteriorated intake.

The water supply system of the north side of the city which had been in rather precarious condition, has been taken care of by the construction of the new McNaugher Reservoir and the new Brashear Reservoir, together with the rehabilitation of the Howard Street pumping station where the old worn-out steam equipment was replaced with modern electrically driven pumps. The total expenditures for the improvement of the water supply of the north side of the city amounts to about \$950,000.

The Highland Reservoir No. 2 which had been in a leaky condition for many years, has been relined and reconstructed at a cost of about \$230,000; and extraordinary repairs have been made to the filtration plant and to Highland Reservoir No. 1. A new rising main has been constructed on the south side to serve the Arlington Tanks, at a cost of about \$140,000.

The Bureau of Water has been extremely busy in the installation of new street mains in order to keep pace with the rapid upbuilding of the city. About \$225,000 a year is being expended for this purpose.

The extent of the city's investment in its waterworks utility and the

operating costs of the system will be of interest. The total value of the waterworks, based on reproduction cost in 1930 is approximately \$68,000,000, and the annual operating cost, exclusive of extraordinary improvements as before stated, is approximately \$1,550,000.

One of the problems confronted by the city in 1926 was the condition of many of the city's bridges. The city maintains 133 bridges; many of these were suffering from deterioration due to age and lack of proper maintenance. Under funds provided in the 1926 bond issue the old bridge on California Avenue over Woods Run, now known as the Robert McAfee Bridge, has been replaced with a new steel arch bridge at a cost of \$550,000; the Millvale Avenue Bridge over the Pennsylvania Railroad, which was in a very precarious condition, has been replaced with a modern steel viaduct at a cost of \$220,000. Plans are now under way and funds are available for the reconstruction of the Aiken Avenue Bridge over the Pennsylvania Railroad and for the reconstruction of the Twenty-eighth Street Bridge over the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the approach of the Elizabeth Street Bridge in Hazelwood.

The condition of several of the major bridges of the city, including the South Tenth Street and South Twenty-second Street and Smithfield Street Bridges has been very carefully investigated, and major repairs have been carried out in order to prolong the life of these structures. Major repairs have been made to the Ellsworth Avenue Bridge over the Pennsylvania Railroad; Forbes Street Bridge over Fern Hollow; Wilmot Street Bridge in Schenley Park, and the Bloomfield Street Bridge. A large number of minor repairs have been carried out on many of the other bridges of the city.

Construction has been begun on the East Street Bridge which connects Perrysville Avenue via Charles Street with the hilltops lying east of the East Street ravine. This project will cost \$970,000 and requires the construction of a bridge spanning the East Street valley with the necessary street approaches at either end. The bridge will be monumental in appearance owing to its height, the roadway being 220 feet above East Street.

Important street improvement projects which have been completed and which were authorized in the 1926 bond issue included the widening and reimprovement of Grant Street, from Water Street to Seventh Avenue at a cost of \$1,620,000; the widening of Baum Boulevard, Whitfield Street and Beatty Street, \$747,000; widening and extension of Irwin Avenue, North Side, at a cost of \$690,000; widening and reimprovement of Chartiers Avenue in Sheraden, \$138,000; extension of North Avenue, \$132,000; widening and reimprovement of Lincoln Avenue, \$275,000. The widening of Second Avenue in the downtown district under the Wabash Building has been completed under agreement with the Pittsburgh and West Virginia Railway at a cost of \$370,000.

The latter part of the year 1930 witnessed the completion of the extension of the Boulevard of the Allies eastwardly from Brady Street. This main thoroughfare of the city has been extended by carrying the roadway beyond Brady Street over Forbes Street by viaduct; thence by roadway cut in the hillside and then again by carrying the roadway over Forbes Street and extending it to an intersection with Craft Avenue at Emily Street. Ramps to provide access without traffic interference to the Oakland District via Forbes Street have also been constructed. A total of approximately \$2,000,000 has been expended out of the revenues provided in the 1926 bond issue.

The first section of the Mt. Washington Roadway project between the Liberty Tunnels and the top of the hill at Grandview Avenue and Merrimac Street was completed in 1929 at a cost of \$1,200,000. The project includes a hillside road cut in the precipitous side of Mt. Washington and a reënforced concrete bridge spanning the Castle Shannon Incline and Sycamore Street. Plans are now being prepared for the completion of this roadway between Liberty Tunnels and South Seventh Street, involving the construction of a hillside road and a viaduct over the P. V. & C. R. R.

Negotiations have been carried out with the Pennsylvania Railroad for the removal of the existing North and Irwin Avenue Bridges over the Pennsylvania Railroad, which constitutes a very dangerous traffic hazard, and their replacement with a new structure which will afford a clear intersection. An agreement as to allocation of cost has been negotiated with the Pennsylvania Railroad and it is expected that this improvement will be completed in the near future at an estimated cost of \$295,000.

Marked progress has been made by the city in the improvement of recreational facilities out of the funds provided in the 1926 bond issue. Some \$205,000 has been expended in the acquisition of additional grounds for six new playgrounds, and 118 contracts at an aggregate cost of \$500,000 have been carried out in the improvement of 42 playgrounds in the city, including the construction of four new swimming pools. Plans are now being prepared for further improvement of the playgrounds at an aggregate cost of \$300,000, and for park improvement amounting to \$150,000.

General plans and estimates of cost were made in 1930 for the elimination of the last important grade crossing in the city, namely, that of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad over Second Avenue near Hazelwood Avenue. The estimated cost, according to the approved plans of this improvement, is \$1,486,000, to be allocated between the City of Pittsburgh and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the Pittsburgh Railways Co.

The city department of public works has had a number of important problems in hand during the past few years, the most important of which has been the study and preparation of plans and estimates for river front improvement, including river terminals. In this latter project the city is receiving the hearty cooperation of the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations and it is hoped that the work of construction of the terminals will be greatly advanced during the year 1931.

The department is now engaged at the general plans and in some instances contract plans for a large number of important improvements, including the raising and reimprovement of streets in the North Side flood district; widening and reimprovement of West Carson Street from Steuben Street to Chartiers Creek; widening and reimprovement of Pike Street from Eleventh Street to Twenty-third Street; and the extension of the Boulevard of the Allies to and beyond Schenley Park.

# THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH AND HOW IT GREW

A statement of the population in certain years, together with the names of the mayors of the city. Population given for census years only until 1920.

The per cent increase is for one period over the period immediately preceding it in this table. Area is in square miles.

	Popula-	Per Cent	Area	Name of Mayor, and list of territory
Year	tion	Increase	of City	annexed since last preceding census,
1790	376	*****	• • • •	
1800	1,565	316.2		
1810	4,786	205.8	• • • •	
1816				Ebenezer Denny (7-9-1816 to 7-23-1817)
1817				John Darrah (7-31-1817 to 6-20-1825)
1820	7,248	51.4	5-	
1825				John M. Snowden (6-28-1825 to end of 1827)
1828				Magnus M. Murray (1828 to 1829)
1830	12,568	73.4	5.	Matthew B. Lowrie (1830)
1831				Magnus M. Murray (1831)
1832				Samuel Pettigrew (1832 to 1835, inc.)
1836				Jonas R. McClintock (1836-7-8)
1839				William Little (1839)
1840	21,515	71.1	.68	William W. Irwin (1840); Northern Liber-
				ties Borough
1841				James Thomson (1841)
1842				Alexander Hay (1842-3-4)
1845				William J. Howard (1845)
1846				William Kerr (1846)
1847				Gabriel Adams (1847-8)
1849				John Herron (1849)
1850	46,601	116.6	1.77	Joseph Barker (1850); parts of Pitt town- ship
1851				John B. Guthrie (1851-2)

Year	Popula- tion	Per Cent Increase	Area of City	Name of Mayor, and list of territory annexed since last preceding census.
1853				Robert M. Riddle (1853)
1854				Ferdinand E. Voltz (1854-5)
1856				William Bingham (1856)
1857				Henry A. Weaver (1857-8-9)
1860	49,221	5.6	1.77	George Wilson (1860-1)
1862				B. C. Sawyer (1862-3)
1864				James Lowry (1864-5)
1866				W. S. McCarthy (1866-7)
1868				James Blackmore (1868)
1869				Jared M. Brush (1869-70-71)
1870	86,076	74.8	23.1	See above. Remainder of Pitt Town-
				ship and Townships of Peebles, Liberty,
-0				Collins, Oakland, Lawrenceville.
1872				James Blackmore (1872-3-4)
1875				William M. McCarthy (1875-6-7)
1878 1880	156,380	9-6-		Robert Liddell (1878-9-80)
1000	150,309	81.69	27.31	See above. Boroughs of Union, Temper-
				anceville, Mt. Washington, West Pitts-
				burgh, Monongahela, South Pittsburgh,
				Allentown, Birmingham, East Birming-
1881				ham, St. Clair and Ormsby.
1884				Robert W. Lyon (1881-2-3)
1887				Andrew Fulton (1884-5-6)
1890	238,617	52.58	07.07	William McCallin (1887-8-9)
1893	-00,017	32.30	27.31	Henry I. Gourley (1890-1-2)
1896				Bernard McKenna (1893-4-5) Henry P. Ford (1896-7-8)
1899				William J. Diehl (1899, 1900-1)
1900	321,616	34.78		See above. Boroughs of Brushton and
		34.70	20.00	Beltzhoover
1901				
				* A. M. Brown (1901)
				* J. O. Brown (1901-2) City Recorders
1903				*W. B. Hays (3-13-1903)
1906				William B. Hays (4-23-1903-1906)
1900	×			George W. Guthrie (4-2-1906-1909)
1910	533,905	66.01	47.06	William A. Magee (4-5-1909-1914)
-9-0	233,903	00.01	41.06	See above. City of Allegheny (12-7-07);
				Boroughs of Elliott, Esplen, Montooth,
				Sheraden, West Liberty, and Beechview,
				and Townships of Sterrett, O'Hara and
1914			1	Union (part).
1918			J	Joseph G. Armstrong (1-5-1914-1918)
			·	Edward V. Babcock (1-7-1918 to 12-21-1921)

<sup>\*</sup>Office of Mayor abolished by Act of Assembly 3-7-1901; under same Act office of City Recorder was created. On 4-23-1903 title of office was again changed to Mayor.

Year	Popula- tion	Per Cent Increase	Area of City	Name of Mayor, and list of territory annexed since last preceding census.
1920	588,343 (Se	10.20 e Note)	42.23	See above. Borough of Spring Garden; Townships of Baldwin, Ross (part), Penn (part) and Chartiers (part).
1922				William A. Magee (1-2-1822 to 1-4-1926)
1925	632,607	7.52	46.97	See above. Townships of Reserve (part) and Lower St. Clair (part); St. Clair Borough and Frick Park.
1926	637,000	0.69	••••	Charles H. Kline (1-4-1926; second term ends January, 1934).
1927	662,700	4.03	49.82	See above. Boroughs of Carrick, Knoxville, and Westwood.
1928	665,700	0.04	• • • •	See above. Boroughs of Hays and Overbrook, and part Baldwin Township.
1929	673,500	0.11	51.37	See above. Mifflin Township (part), and Ross Township.
1930	668,693	0.30	• • • •	

Note.—Population figures after 1920 are estimates of Newspaper Feature Bureau, except for 1930, which are the census figures.

# Population of Allegheny County

Year	Popula- tion	Inc. Over Previous Census	Year	Popula- tion	Inc. Over Previous Census
1790	10,309	• • • •	1860	178,031	29.32
1800	15,087	46.35	1870	262,204	46.62
1810	25,317	67.81	1880	355,869	35.72
1820	34,921	37-94	1890	551,959	55.10
1830	50,552	44.76	1900	775,058	40.42
1840	81,235	60.70	1910	1,018,463	31.40
1850	138,290	70.23	1920	1,185,808	15.4
			1926	1,297,800	27.43

1930 (by Federal census) 1,363,684.

# CITY OF ALLEGHENY

Incorporated as a borough April 14, 1828, and as a city in 1840. Became a part of the City of Pittsburgh December 7, 1907.

Year	Popula- tion	Per Cent Increase	Name of Mayor
1830 1840 1841 1842 1844 1846	2,801 10,089	260.19	William Robinson (1840) Thomas Sample (1841) W. B. Foster (1842-3) Hezekiah Nixon (1844-5) R. S. Cassett (1846)

	Popula-	Per Cent	
Year	tion	Increase	Name of Mayor
1847			Henry Campbell (1847-8)
1849			Jonathan Rush (1849)
1850	21,262	110.74	H. S. Fleming (1850-1-2)
1853			R. W. Park (1853)
1854			W. B. Adams (1854-5-6)
1857			Harmon DeHaven (1857)
1858			Jacob Stuckrath (1858)
1859			John Morrison (1859-60)
1860	28,702	34.99	See above.
1861			Simon Drum (1861-2)
1863			A. C. Alexander (1863-4)
1865			John Morrison (1865-6-7)
1868			Simon Drum (1868-9)
1870	53,180	85.28	A. P. Callow (1870-1-2-3-4). Died 1874. David
			Neely mayor for 30 days. H. S. Fleming mayor
			for unexpired term of A. P. Callow.
1875			O. Phillips (1875-6-7)
1878-9			Thomas McGraw (1878 Term expired 4-1-1881).
1880.	78,682	47.95	L. Peterson (served June 1880 to 4-1-1881. No explanation found).
1881			James G. Wyman (4-1-1884)
1884			R. Pearson (4-1-1887)
1887			James G. Wyman (4-1-1890). Resigned 3-1-1892.
			(Evidently reëlected.)
1890	105,287	33.81	N. H. Voegtly (90 days from 3-1-1892)
1892			William M. Kennedy (1892)
1893			C. L. Geyer (1896)
1897			James G. Wyman (1899)
1900	129,896	23.37	John R. Murphy, appointed Recorder by the Governor
			(1901)
1903			James G. Wyman (1903-6)
1906			Charles F. Kirschler (1906 Allegheny became part of Pittsburgh).

The information relative to the Mayor of the City of Allegheny is copied from old municipal records, and the dates following the names above are exactly as shown in those records.

Some detailed account of the methods of financing Pittsburgh's municipal government, along with detailed statistics of the rate of municipal taxation in this community at the present time and during recent years, will be pertinent at this point. Comparisons with the period preceding the World War are for many purposes almost valueless to-day because of the tremendous rise in all commodity prices, which inevitably express themselves in a universal rise in absolute taxes. Let us briefly consider the increase in city taxes in Pittsburgh in the decade from 1917 (year of American entry into the World War) to 1927.

The salaries item shows an increase of 90.08 per cent, which far exceeds any of the other five accounts in amount and per cent. It is thus considerably higher than the average of 69.0 per cent for the group, while expenditures for wages, miscellaneous services, supplies, materials and repairs are below the average, indicating clearly that the increased cost of routine city government is not due to excessive expenditures for these items. This increase in the salaries account is in part accounted for by the addition of approximately 1,000 employees to the payroll, chiefly in police, public works and public welfare.

Equipment shows a large increase for the reason that expenditures, for this purpose, were curtailed during the war period. The increase 69.0 per cent in city expenses for current operation although the number of street lamps increased in 1917 to 13,358 in 1927. Garbage and rubbish disposal expenditures in 1917 perhaps should not be taken as a basis for comparison, since the contractors allege that they operated at a loss prior to the adoption of the "cost-plus-profit" form of contract, and since 1917 the quantity of rubbish collected has practically doubled. The increase in grants and donations is due to greater appropriations to the Carnegie Library, pension funds, and additional activities.

The classification of "all other" comprises expenditures for improvements from tax levy and other expenses not properly chargeable to any of the other accounts. The apparent abnormal increase in this item is due to the fact that expenditures for improvements in 1917 amounted to only \$10,225, whereas something over \$600,000 was spent for this purpose in 1927; and to an expenditure of \$407,916.33 in 1927 for water furnished by the South Pittsburgh Water Company to residents in the southern districts of the city. Under an agreement originating in 1918, the city pays the difference between the city water rate and the South Pittsburgh Water Company rate to the company, thus insuring a water supply at city rates to consumers so supplied.

J. C. Slippy, expert municipal accountant, in his annual pamphlet analysis of Pittsburgh municipal finances, gives the following information as to the statutory and constitutional limitations to which the city government is subject:

# FINANCE OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS

The cost of original street and sewer improvements is borne by the abutting property owners to the extent of the resulting benefit. The deficiency in the funds so provided is borne by the city, and is met either by appropriations in the annual budget or by bond issue. The damages and benefits are assessed by a board of viewers, who are appointed by the court,

and who are governed by the provisions of the state laws relating thereto, and also by precedent and court decisions. In apportioning all such improvements, the value of the property and the resulting damages and benefits are taken into consideration, and it hence follows that the percentage of cost assessed against the city, which is the difference between the total cost and the amount assessed against the abutting properties, varies considerably.

The cost of street sewers up to a diameter not exceeding 15 inches is assessed upon abutting property owners. The cost of main drains is borne almost entirely by the city at large, the assessment upon abutting properties being limited to the equivalent cost of a 15-inch sewer.

The city bears the entire cost of street repaving, maintenance and repair, which costs are, as a rule, paid out of annual appropriations. Extensive street reimprovement work, such as widening, relocating and other betterments, are generally financed by special bond issues.

Original street improvements are initiated either upon petition of a majority of the property owners abutting in interest and number, or under the provisions of an act of assembly commonly known as the "Act of 1895," which empowers the council to direct the grading, paving and curbing of a street where the general interest of the city will be served. The necessity for providing access to other streets in the vicinity of through traffic routes, and sanitary conditions are the principal reasons requiring the adoption of this latter procedure. This method of executing an improvement requires a three-fourths vote of the members of the council.

# CITY'S BORROWING POWER

The state constitution provides that the city may issue bonds for a large number of purposes to an amount not to exceed 7 per cent of the assessed valuation of taxable property with the authorization of the people at an election, and when so done, the issue is termed an "Electoral" or "People's" bond issue; or without the expressed consent of the people and under the authority of council, in which the issue is termed a "Councilmanic" bond issue. The amount of such "Councilmanic" bonds is limited to two per cent of the assessed valuation which is included in the seven per cent bonding limit prescribed by law. The city may also increase its indebtedness three per cent above the seven per cent bonding limit when the people vote to do so by a 60 per cent vote.

The rate of interest on bonds must not exceed six per cent and the life of the bonds must not exceed 30 years. Such bonds must not be sold below par plus accrued interest. All bonds must now mature serially.

# BASES AND RATES OF PITTSBURGH CITY TAXATION BEFORE WORLD WAR

(From City Controller's Report)

Rate 1913	7.4	I.5	1.0	8.1	3.0	: :	4.2	0.0
Rate 1912	7.3	1.5	0.1	1.8	3.0		4.3	6.5
Rate 1911	8.1	5.6	5.6	10.0	0.0	3.0	6.2	7.6
Rate 1910	7.5	6.2	5.6	6.6 4.6	6.8 0.9	8.7	6.0	o
Rate 1909	0.00	νή (χ)	2.0	4.8	16.2		0.0	in :
Rate 1908	9.5	5.05	6.05	5.75	25.25	200	5.33	04
Character or Purpose of Tax	Current Expense Tax	1-37	Beltzhover Borough, Separate Debt	Esplen Borough, Separate Debt	Anontoom Borough, Separate Deot Sheraden Borough, Separate Debt	West Liberty Borough, Separate Debt	Allegheny City, Separate Debt	Allegheny City, General School Debt

682,248,182 623,470,468 679,491,294 Taxable Valuation, Basis for Levy ...... 619,632,427 REMARKS:

\$755,818,383 \$749,619,410 \$758,366,910

Assessed Valuation or Actual Cash Valuation usually runs less than 70 per cent of full value.

Taxable Valuation is an adjusted amount to allow for reduction to one-half of the full value for Agricultural property and twothirds of full value for Rural property which was effective 1877 to 1911, inclusive. Legislature of 1911 abolished Agricultural and Rural classification; thereafter, all property taxed full rate.

# BASES AND RATES OF PITTSBURGH CITY TAXATION, 1920-1928

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City
(From

and Buildings	Land Bui Mills Bui Mills 1920	Buildings Mills 13.3 7.5 \$334,658,810 7,550 Buildings Mills	Land Bu Bu Aills 20.0 8.5 \$480,461,700 \$34 \$120 Land Bu Mills	Buildings Mills 14.0 8.5 \$349,386,420 3,120 Buildings Mills	Land Buils Buils 11.5 20.0 11.5 \$487,939,620 \$38 \$868,177,930 Land Buils Buils	Buildings Mills 12.0 11.5 \$380,238,310 7,930 Buildings Mills
School Tax	\$532,688,420 \$39 \$592,884,800	\$396,176,380 11.5 \$396,176,380	\$530,675,130 \$42 \$951,157,190	\$420,482,780 7,190	19.5 11.5 \$547,475,280 \$44 \$988,830,120	\$441,354,840 90,120
	Land Mills	Buildings Mills	Land Mills	Buildings Mills	Land Mills	Buildings Mills
School Tax	22.4 11.5 \$548,219,170	11.2 11.5 \$465,897,650	22.4 11.5 \$554,616,950	11.2 11.5 \$505,396,600	25.0 11.5 \$573,738,300	12.5 11.5 \$535,104,140
Total Valuation	\$1,014,116,820	16,820	\$1,060,013,550	13,550	\$1,108,842,440	12,440

# PROPERTY EXEMPT FROM TAXATION

In addition to the property assessed by the department of assessors for purposes of taxation, there is a large amount of property in the city which is entirely exempt, a schedule of which is shown in *Civic Pittsburgh*, 1930. Adding the value of all such property exempt amounting to \$225,594,711, to the city assessment gives an assessed value of \$1,370,258,471 for all real estate located in the City of Pittsburgh in 1927.

Pittsburgh has a small percentage of miscellaneous revenue compared with the other cities so that a heavier burden is placed on real estate, the Bureau of the Census reporting (1926) that 79.4 per cent of Pittsburgh's revenue receipts came from property taxes, against an average of 65.5 per cent for the other eleven cities shown on the chart. Most other cities levy a personal property tax, and a tax on inventories. Pittsburgh levies neither, although a tax on inventories in the hands of manufacturers and merchants would net millions of dollars annually.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Robert Garland, who served as Chairman of the Finance Committee of Pittsburgh City Council for a period of 10 years or more prior to 1930, and the courtesy also of Mr. H. S. Breitenstein of the City Assessor's office, we are able to present a carefully compiled recapitulation of the city tax rate from the year 1913 to 1930 inclusive. The student of taxation will notice how the graded tax law has operated. The law first affected the tax rate in 1914, which is the first year in which land and buildings were separately levied on. The law required that the tax on land and the tax on buildings should in 10 years attain the ratio of two mills on land to one mill on buildings, and thereafter should remain permanently on that basis. It will be observed that the permanent basis was arrived at in 1925 and that the tax rate on land has been exactly twice the rate on buildings ever since.

For the years 1913, 1914 and 1915, the current expense or "New City" tax is the rate for all taxing districts, to which must be added, in each case, the separate rate for the particular district for which the actual rate is desired.

### CITY TAX RATE

### 1913

CURRENT EXPENSE TAX (New City)	7.4 mills
Old City of Pittsburgh	8.9
Former Allegheny	11.6
Elliott	8.4
Esplen	9.2
Montooth	13.6
Sheraden	10.4
School tax (in all districts)	6 mills

# CITY TAX RATE (Continued)

	1914			
	Land	Buildings	Average	
Current Expense	7.4	6.66	7.126	
Old City of Pittsburgh	9.4	8.46	• • • •	
Former Allegheny	11.6	10.44	. * * * * *	
Elliott	9.2	8.28	• • • •	
Esplen	8.4	7.56	* * * * *	
Montooth	10.4	9.36	* * * * *	
Sheraden	13.4	12.06	• • • • •	
School tax	****			6 mills
	1915			
CURRENT EXPENSE	7.8	7.02	7.506	
Old City of Pittsburgh	10.2	9.18		
Former Allegheny	14.2	12.78	• • • •	
Esplen	9.9	8.91	*.***	
Sheraden	17.4	15.66	• • • •	
Beechview	9.2	8.28		
School tax		*****	* * * * *	6 mills
City Tax Rate				School Tax
1916	12.6	10.08	11.636	6
1917	11.5	9.2	10.599	6
1918	14.5	11.6	13.342	6.5
1919	15.7	10.99	13.796	6.5
1920	19.0	13.3	16.658	7.5
1921	20.0	14.0	17.474	8.5
1922	20.0	12.0	16.496	11.5
1923	20.0	12.0	16.588	11.5
1924	20.0	12.0	16.463	11.5
1925	19.5	9.75	15.148	11.5
1926	22.4	11.2	17.255	11.5
1927	22.4	11.2	17.060	11.5
1928	25.0	12.5	18.968	11.5
1929	25.0	12.5	18.819	11.5
1930	26.0	13.0	19.440	11.75

# ALLEGHENY COUNTY TAX RATE\*

	County	Road	Bond	Park	Poor	City	County
1913	1.75	1.0		• • • •	0.5	2.75	3.25
1914	1.75	1.0	• • • •	• • • •	0.75	2.75	3.50

<sup>\*</sup>The tax rates of the City of Pittsburgh and the County of Allegheny are entirely independent of each other, but this recapitulation of the county levy is given for the reason that the City of Pittsburgh is included in the county and city taxpayers have the county rates to pay as well as the city and school rates shown in preceding tables.

	County	Road	Bond	Park	Poor	City	County
1915	1.25	1.0			0.75	2.25	3.00
1916	1.75	1.5	• • • •	,	0.90	3.25	4.15
1917	2.0	1.5	* * * *	• • • •	1.0	<b>3</b> -5	4.50
1918	2.5	Į.5	• • • •	• • • •	1.25	4.0	5.25
1919	2.5	1.5	• • • •		1.25	4.0	5.25
1920	3.25	2.0	• • • •	• • • •	1.25	5.25	6.50
1921	3.25	2.0	• • • •	• • • •	1.25	5.25	6.50
1922	1.75	1.0	2.5		1.25	5.25	6.50
1923	1.625	0.875	2.25		1.25	4.75	6.00
1924	1.625	1.0	2.25		1.25	4.875	6.125
1925	2.5	1.125	2.75	• • • •	1.25	6.375	7.625
1926	2.625	1.5	3.25	• • • •	1.25	7-375	8.625
1927	2.625	1.5	3.25	• • • •	1.25	7-375	8.625
1928	2.25	1.5	3.25	-375	1.5	7.375	8.875
1929	2.25	1.5	3.25	-375	1.5	7.375	8.875
1930	2.25	1.5	4.25	-375	1.5	8.375	9.875

A complete exhibit of city valuations by wards for the years 1929 and 1930, with the amount netted by all city taxes (including the school tax which is levied by the Board of Public Education) has been made available by the Department of Assessors, City of Pittsburgh, who are required to make valuations and classify real estate for the purpose of taxation under the Act of July 9, 1897, supplemented by the Act of December 14, 1928. Assessors on January 22, 1930, were Thomas C. McMahon, George H. Douglas, W. H. Robertson, Charles A. Martin, Fred F. Dengler, George W. Savage, J. W. Gardner, Samuel J. Reno, Jr., and Harry Feldman.

In the consideration of the following exhibit of total real estate valuation in the city, there is almost certain to be an inadequate appreciation of the significance of the figures unless one bears in mind two things—the first is that at least \$225,000,000 worth of property was tax exempt in the year 1930 and hence not included in these valuations. The second thing to be remembered is that the valuation for tax purposes is on an average not more than two-thirds of the actual value of all the properties. If the figures be corrected in these two respects by the reader desiring to know what is the actual value of all real property in the City of Pittsburgh in the year 1930, the actual value will be found to be very little short of \$2,000,000,000.

The results of the 1930 Federal census in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County were finally announced on June 17th. The population of the county was fixed at 1,363,684. The population of the city was fixed at 668,693. The population of the county will be the population of the consolidated City of Pittsburgh when the law establishing the Metropolitan Pittsburgh becomes effective through the ratification of the charter.

# CITY, SCHOOL TAXES AND WATER RENTS, FLAT RATE, FOR 1929

Total	\$ 3,456,171.71 8,110,879.13	578,401.48 T 582 870 85	600,848.76	854,542.75	1,426,772.52	1,332,010.33	480,227.96	741,012.51	1,701,168.44	854,457.08	813,297.95	3,345,390.36	927,370.38	595,325.42	687,475.55	394,507.07	1,211,679.85	446,726.13	685,852.62	1,307,942.96	503,839.53	320,512.75	304,552.13	598,643.62	864,281.63	197,862.45	408,242.71	205,374.35	29,456.72	24,217.01	\$35,601,934.00
School Tax	\$ 1,208,335.44 2,845,290.10	210,780.71	244.414.08	292,955.15	529,750.45	487,968.67	167,967.09	279,568.90	626,572.99	303,962.49	316,570.84	1,343,133.76	348,047.26	211,777.36	234,324.53	149,667.18	468,010.56	171,868.74	244,365.69	457,328.21	178,949.85	114,477.33	104,452.47	226,993.37	330,322.56	79,145.74	172,150.40	88,323.69	6,972.74	8,842.51	\$13,073,043.36
Water Rents Flat Rate	\$ 32,412.92 30,112.18	20,444.09	10,470,77	33,113.11	59,515.56	56,353.12	44,495.05	29,651.68	61,466.55	66,514.83	32,058.14	52,101.61	44,329.16	34,312.15	44,213.00	24,468.51	36,668.37	24,585.92	63,616.66	57,445.91	47,495.98	36,211.31	46,148.82	55,421.92	62,184.35	•	•	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	•	•	\$1,123,545.36
Building Tax	\$ 411,363.85 949,933.60	111,035.18	400,071.00 176,362.01	108,379.24	314,116.76	273,105.29	97,373.57	175,955.18	348,972.60	176,790.36	223,510.22	969,673.94	221,610.96	111,140.16	100,456.77	104,976.13	310,382.67.	123,334.96	153,351.77	201,018.09	111,620.45	79,030.86	73,112.84	177,218.33	246,304.97	53,328.46	138,135.06	74,951.66	7,826.98	10,878.60	\$7,036,122.38
Land Tax	\$ 1,804,059.50 4,285,543.25	236,141.50	178 602 00	420,095.25	523,389.75	514,583.25	170,392.25	255,836.75	664,156.00	307,190.00	241,158.75	980,673.74	313,383.00	238,095.75	308,481.25	115,395.25	396,618.25	126,936.50	224,518.50	592,150.75	165,773.25	90,793.25	80,838.00	139,010.00	225,469.75	65,388.25	97,957.25	42,099.00	14,657.00	4,495.90	\$14,369,222.90
Total Valuation	\$ 105,071,480	18,328,460	53,890,940	25.474.100	46,064,890	42,431,680	14,605,520	24,309,780	54,483,980	26,430,710	27,527,100	116,793,070	30,264,120	18,414,950	20,375,750	13,013,800	40,695,070	14,944,040	21,248,790	39,767,430	15,560,530	9,954,130	9,082,470	19,737,700	28,722,990	6,881,740	14,969,050	2,680,060	1,212,430	1,537,450	\$1,138,143,600
Building Valuation	\$ 32,909,100 75,994,680					21,848,350									8,036,500			9,866,580									H			1,087,860	\$563,104,930
Land Valuation	\$ 72,162,380	9,445,660	21,821,300	16.803.810	20.035.500	20,583,330	6.815,690	10,233,470	26,566,240	12,287,600	0,646,350	39,219,250	12,535,320	9,523,830	12,339,250	4,615,810	15,864,730	5,077,460	8,980,740	23,686,030	6,630,930	3,631,730	3,233,520	5,560,400	9,018,790	2,615,530	3,918,290	1,683,960	586,280	449,590	\$575,038,670
Ward	First	Third	Fourth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Tenth	Eleventh	Twelfth	Thirteenth	Fourteenth	Fifteenth	Sixteenth	Seventeenth	Eighteenth	Nineteenth	Twentieth	Twenty-First	Twenty-Second	Twenty-Third	Twenty-Fourth	Twenty-Fifth	Twenty-Sixth	Twenty-Seventh	Twenty-Eighth	Twenty-Ninth	Thirtieth	Thirty-First	Mifflin Township	Total

CITY, SCHOOL TAXES AND WATER RENTS, FLAT RATE, FOR 1930

Total	\$ 3,622,439.59	8,494,234.90	590,195.41	1,003,000.23	043,711.72	891,925.00	1,506,349.80	1,393,520.64	497,315.06	775,237.64	1,785,971.57	889,606.94	845,199.44	3,529,289.02	969,752.61	616,261.62	707,360.21	411,212.68	1,279,535.70	408,093.48	715,594.04	1,350,042.19	518,892.15	331,011.02	314,343.83	655,551.20	910,371.51	213,573.67	433,719.20	214,149.32	84,268.98	95,529.10	\$37,425,868.53	
School Tax	\$ 1,259,293.18	2,959,251.34	215,000.00	045,774.03	250,053.34	304,150.14	558,929.36	508,303.41	173,086.39	290,874.54	655,305.39	314,534.80	326,540.40	1,406,842.16	361,910.95	217,557.08	239,193.84	155,016.19	491,972.35	179.077.03	253,027.17	467,722.62	183,121.80	117,938.33	107,372.17	248,495.92	346,173.42	85,220.38	181,726.16	91,248.49	33,676.75	24,920.12	\$13,660,269.99	
Water Rents Flat Rate	\$ 30,885.57	27,939.94	20,000.04	19,153.40	11,449.30	32,949.56	57,197.60	55,122.25	44,358.17	29,468.79	61,000.44	66,283.86	31,919.67	56,154.19	45,539.40	34,211.06	43,476.78	24,731.36	37,162.27	24,848.20	65,255.64	55,919.71	46,954.49	35,865.35	46,606.78	56,538.36	63,696.14	•	•	•	•	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	\$1,125,494.69	
Building Tax		Ħ,							103,112.36					1,046,652.75	238,481.10	116,883.52	104,568.75	111,517.25	338,145.08	132,042.43	162,555.08	208,547.30	116,373.40	83,743.14	77,205.70	199,303.52	265,461.69	60,194.29	150,097.48	78,997.75	23,918.83	39,663.78	\$7,641,153.91	
Land Tax	\$ 1,878,010.94	4,465,963.58	245,001.04	508,440.00	185,860.48	436,653.36	543,684.70	535,455.18	176,758.14	266,186.44	689,328.64	321,620.78	250,959.02	1,019,639.92	323,821.10	247,609.96	320,120.84	119,947.88	412,256.00	132.125.76	234,756.08	617,852.56	172,442.40	93,464.80	83,159.18	151,213.40	235,040.26	68,159.00	101,895.56	43,903.08	26,673.40	30,945.20	\$14,998,949.94	
Total Valuation	\$ 107,173,490	251,850,910	18,378,990	54,958,500	21,790,680	25,884,560	47,567,730	43,250,030	14,730,110	24,753,930	55,769,340	26,767,530	27,789,220	119,728,670	30,799,360	18,514,500	20,356,090	13,191,630	41,867,160	15,238,870	21,533,360	39,805,660	15,584,200	10,036,580	9,137,330	21,146,940	29,460,140	7,251,830	15,465,020	7,765,330	2,865,810	4,241,260	\$1,164,663,760	
Building Valuation	\$ 34,942,300	80,083,080	8,955,850	33,095,400	14,642,200	0,090,200	26,656,780	22.664.600	7,031,720	14,515,000	20,256,700	14,397,500	18,136,950	80,511,750	18,344,700	8,991,040	8,043,750	8,578,250	26,011,160	10,157,110	12,504,280	16,042,100	8,951,800	6,441,780	5,938,900	15,331,040	20,420,130	4,630,330	11,545,960	6,076,750	1,839,910	3,051,060	\$587,781,070	
Land	\$ 72.231.190	171,767,830	9,423,140	21,863,100	7,148,480	16,704,360	20.010.050	20,504,430	6.708.300	10.237,040	26,512,640	12,370,030	0.652.270	30.216.020	12.454.660	0,523,460	12,312,340	4,613,380	15,856,000	5,081,760	0,020,080	23,763,560	6,632,400	3,594,800	3,198,430	5,815,900	0,040,010	2,621,500	3,919,060	1,688,580	1,025,000	1,190,200	\$576,882,690	
Ward	First	77	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Fighth	Ninth	Tenth	Fleventh	Twelfth	Thirteenth	Fourteenth	Fifteenth	Sixteenth	Seventeenth	Eighteenth	Nineteenth	Twentieth	Twenty-First	Twenty-Second	Twenty-Third	Twenty-Fourth	Twenty-Fifth	Twenty-Sixth	Twenty-Seventh	Twenty-Eighth	Twenty-Ninth	Thirtieth	Thirty-First	80	Total	

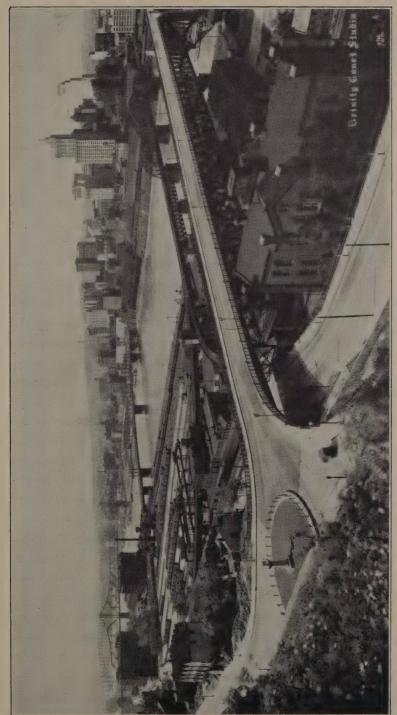
The Federal census figures for 1930 along with the 1920 figures for the corresponding divisions:

	City of	Pittsburgh	
193	0 1920	1930	1920
First Ward 9,37	800,11	Seventeenth Ward 23,356	25,374
Second Ward 6,76		Eighteenth Ward 21,028	20,223
Third Ward 21,53		Nineteenth Ward 41,198	30,445
Fourth Ward 25,82		Twentieth Ward 25,596	21,381
Fifth Ward 28,01		Twenty-first Ward 22,305	24,143
Sixth Ward 16,67	3 20,261	Twenty-second Ward 15,022	18,568
Seventh Ward 17,01		Twenty-third Ward 17,304	21,142
Eighth Ward 20,52		Twenty-fourth Ward 15,904	17,287
Ninth Ward 20,08		Twenty-fifth Ward 16,263	17,130
Tenth Ward 25,12		Twenty-sixth Ward 23,250	20,599
Eleventh Ward 23,81		Twenty-seventh Ward . 28,214	23,453
Twelfth Ward 26,73		Twenty-eighth Ward 8,765	
Thirteenth Ward 30,33		Twenty-ninth Ward 16,040	
Fourteenth Ward 24,01	6 21,674	Thirtieth Ward 8,290	
Fifteenth Ward 28,18		Thirty-first Ward 5,426	
Sixteenth Ward 26,00		Thirty-second Ward 4,966	• • • • •
		.,,	
	Third-(	Class Cities	
McKeesport 54,44	46,781	Duquesne 21,385	19,011
Clairton 15,28	34 10,777		
	Во	roughs	
A coinwall			x 0/00
Aspinwall 4,25	3,170	Edgeworth 1,667	1,373
Avalon 5,93	3,170 32 5,277	Edgeworth 1,667 Elizabeth 2,928	2,703
Avalon 5,93 Bellevue	3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198	Edgeworth 1,667 Elizabeth 2,928 Emsworth 2,709	2,703 2,165
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46	3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492	2,703 2,165 6,341
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25	3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 130	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542	2,703 2,165 6,341
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,18	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 56 2,193 130 37	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907	2,703 2,165 6,341 
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       2,18         Blawnox       2,18         Breckenridge       6,25	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 4,987	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 31 20,879	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,18         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       3%	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 20,879 30 213	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       3%         Brentwood       5,36	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 20,879 31 1,695	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,38         Bridgeville       3,98	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 20,879 31 1,695 37 3,092	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,96         Carnegie       12,46	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 20,879 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,96         Carnegie       12,46         Castle Shannon       3,86	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 213 31 1,695 38 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,18         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,38         Bridgeville       3,98         Carnegie       12,46         Castle Shannon       3,80         Chalfant       1,17	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 20,879 30 213 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,96         Carnegie       12,49         Castle Shannon       3,86         Chalfant       1,17         Cheswick       1,05	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 213 31 1,695 38 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044 471	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903         McDonald       570	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       3,3         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,96         Carnegie       12,44         Castle Shannon       3,86         Chalfant       1,17         Cheswick       1,03         Coraopolis       10,7	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 213 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044 471 453 471 46,162	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903         McDonald       570         McKees Rocks       18,308	2,703 2,165 6,341 6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601 16,713
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,96         Carnegie       12,49         Castle Shannon       3,86         Chalfant       1,17         Cheswick       1,03         Coraopolis       10,7         Crafton       6,97	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 20,879 30 213 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044 43 471 45 4,162 71 5,954	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903         McDonald       570         McKees Rocks       18,308         Millvale       8,073	2,703 2,165 6,341  6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601  16,713 8,031
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       3,36         Bridgeville       3,96         Carnegie       12,48         Castle Shannon       3,86         Chalfant       1,17         Cheswick       1,03         Coraopolis       10,7         Crafton       6,97         Dormont       13,16	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 213 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044 43 471 45 4,162 47 5,954 50 6,455	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903         McDonald       570         McKees Rocks       18,308         Millvale       8,073         Mt. Oliver       7,072	2,703 2,165 6,341 6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601 16,713 8,031 5,575
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,90         Carnegie       12,49         Castle Shannon       3,80         Chalfant       1,17         Cheswick       1,07         Coraopolis       10,7         Crafton       6,97         Dormont       13,10         Dravosburg       2,26	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 213 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044 47 1 47 1 47 1 59 54 50 6,455 50 2,200	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903         McDonald       570         McKees Rocks       18,308         Millvale       8,073         Mt. Oliver       7,072         Munhall       12,993	2,703 2,165 6,341 6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601 16,713 8,031 5,575 6,418
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,96         Carnegie       12,44         Castle Shannon       3,86         Chalfant       1,17         Cheswick       1,07         Coraopolis       10,7         Crafton       6,97         Dormont       13,10         Dravosburg       2,26         East McKeesport       1,30	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 20,879 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044 43 471 42 6,162 71 5,954 50 6,455 50 2,200 51 2,430	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903         McDonald       570         McKees Rocks       18,308         Millvale       8,073         Mt. Oliver       7,072         Munhall       12,993         North Braddock       16,766	2,703 2,165 6,341 6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601 16,713 8,031 5,575 6,418 14,928
Avalon       5,93         Bellevue       10,25         Ben Avon       2,46         Ben Avon Heights       25         Blawnox       2,16         Breckenridge       6,25         Braddock       19,3         Bradford Woods       37         Brentwood       5,36         Bridgeville       3,90         Carnegie       12,49         Castle Shannon       3,80         Chalfant       1,17         Cheswick       1,07         Coraopolis       10,7         Crafton       6,97         Dormont       13,10         Dravosburg       2,26	33 3,170 32 5,277 30 8,198 36 2,193 39 130 37 31 4,987 30 213 31 1,695 37 3,092 38 11,516 38 2,353 36 1,044 471 471 471 5954 60 6,455 20 2,200 21 2,430 16 6,567	Edgeworth       1,667         Elizabeth       2,928         Emsworth       2,709         Etna       7,492         Forest Hills       4,542         Glassport       4,907         Glenfield       951         Greentrees       1,457         Haysville       192         Heidelberg       2,130         Homestead       20,134         Ingram       3,853         Leetsdale       2,779         Liberty       903         McDonald       570         McKees Rocks       18,308         Millvale       8,073         Mt. Oliver       7,072         Munhall       12,993	2,703 2,165 6,341 6,909 976 1,043 173 2,094 20,452 2,900 2,311 601 16,713 8,031 5,575 6,418

## Boroughs

	1930	1920		1930	1920
Osborne	500	358	Trafford (part)	93	132
Pitcairn	6,315	5,738	Turtle Creek 1	0,684	8,138
Port Vue	3,506	2,538	Verona	4,375	3,938
Rankin	7,956	7,301	Versailles	2,471	1,936
Rosslyn Farms	334	315	Wall	2,236	2,426
Sewickley	5,581	4,955	West Elizabeth	1,074	890
Sharpsburg	8,631	8,921	West Homestead	3,547	3,435
Springdale	4,778	2,929	West View	6,028	2,797
Swissvale	14,659	10,909	Whitaker	2,072	1,991
Tarentum	9,539	8,925		9,665	24,403
Thornburg	327	300	Wilmerding	6,287	6,441
•		Town	ships		
Aleppo	419	397	Mt. Lebanon 1	3,476	2,258
Baldwin	6,371	4,920	Neville	1,532	1,272
Bethel	5,482	2,406	North Versaille	1,449	4,844
Braddock	1,788	1,215	O'Hara	5,127	4,672
Collier	6,091	4,650	Ohio	500	404
Crescent	1,107	980	Patton	4,686	3,624
East Deer	6,461	5,290	Penn	7,183	8,542
Elizabeth	7,474	6,563	Pine	937	685
Fawn	912	615	Plum	6,339	3,855
Findlay	2,775	1,926	Reserve	3,108	2,605
Forward	3,616	4,932	Richland	1,801	1,361
Franklin,	1,031	847	Robinson	3,970	3,453
Frazier	1,641	1,035	Ross	8,505	4,949
Hampton	3,000	1,720	Scott	6,202	4,927
Harmar	2,703	1,720	Sewickley	307	164
Harrison	12,335	9,389	Sewickley Heights	982	654
Indiana	3,131	2,298		9,574	6,306
Jefferson	4,138	5,009		4,396	2,889
Kennedy	1,311	760		9,147	9,221
Kilbuck	1,651	1,357	South Versailles	337	303
Leet	1,272	627		3,360	10,665
Lincoln	678	739	Upper St. Clair	1,947	1,458
McCandless	2,647	1,465		3,943	2,241
Marshall	1,265	1,140		6,461	5,290
Mifflin	8,163	11,267	Wilkins	874	3,455
Moon	2,885	1,700			

The proof that Pittsburgh's comparatively low rank in the census tables gives an entirely misleading notion of the population of the real city or urban community, and that this condition is simply due to the fact that the suburbs here have not been consolidated with the city to the same degree as in all other large American cities (Boston alone excepted), is found in the following comparison of city areas taken from the New York World Almanac, 1930 edition:



LIBERTY BRIDGE TO LIBERTY TUBE, SOUTH HILLS



# COMPARATIVE AREAS OF CITIES

New York City	299 s	quare	miles
Chicago	211	44	"
Philadelphia	130	46	44
Detroit	139	46	46
Los Angeles	441	46	46
Cleveland	72	66	EI
St. Louis	61	66	66
Baltimore	91	44	83
New Orleans	178	46	66
Cincinnati	72	46	RE.
Pittsburgh	51	66	81
Boston	46	66	66



# CHAPTER IX

PITTSBURGH IN THE NATION'S WARS



# CHAPTER IX

## PITTSBURGH IN THE NATION'S WARS

Pittsburgh Blues See Service in the War of 1812-Pittsburgh's Contribution to the Victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie and General Jackson at New Orleans-The Vendetta Between New York and Pennsylvania Troops at Black Rock—Allegheny Arsenal Established in 1814—Pittsburgh Blues and Duquesne Grevs Recruited Into First Regiment Going to Vera Cruz in Early 1847 for War with Mexico-Death of Col. William B. Rodgers of Second Regiment in City of Mexico-Pittsburgh Shows Strong Free Soil and Abolition Sympathies in Period Preceding Civil War-National Free Soil and Republican Party Both Organized Here-The First National Republican Convention-Loyalist Sentiment Causes Lively Volunteering at Outbreak of the War in 1861—Disastrous Explosion at Allegheny Arsenal in 1862-Work of the Subsistence Committee Throughout the War-Great Sanitary Fair-Record of Battery B. Fourteenth and Eighteeenth Regiments of Pittsburgh, and Tenth and Sixteenth Regiments of Nearby Towns in Spanish-American War-Pittsburgh's Factory Power Proves a Tremendous Factor in Winning of the World War-Astonishing Dependence of the Allies Upon This City's Munition Industries Before America Enters the Conflict-Pittsburgh Technical Men Make Important Contributions to Defeat of Enemy's Gas Warfare-Records of the Eightieth and Twenty-eighth Divisions in Which Most Allegheny County Service Men Were Included -Magnificent Work of the Various War Auxiliaries-Brilliant Record of William Thaw, American Ace and Commander of All-American Squadron-List of Allegheny County Boys Receiving Distinguished Service Crosses and Medals-Pittsburgh's Remarkable Financial Support of the Government and Her War Memorials.

The historian of Pittsburgh finds relatively little to chronicle of a military character until the Civil War. Technically, the United States has participated in five wars, exclusive of the so-called war with Tripoli. If the War of the Revolution be counted, there were six. From the point of view of international law, however, the nation did not actually come into being until the Revolutionary War had successfully terminated with Great Britain's acknowledgment of our independence. The part taken by the people of the little frontier town of Pittsburgh in the Revolutionary War has already been discussed.

In the War of 1812 with Great Britain, and in the War of 1846 with Mexico, Pittsburgh was represented by a military quota fully proportioned to its population, and the same may be said of the War of 1898 in which Spain was so speedily and ingloriously defeated. It was in the Civil War, 1861-1865, and the World War, 1917-1918, that Pittsburgh gave its most striking demonstration of loyalty and willingness for sacrifice. In the pages that follow, these two wars are treated at considerable length. Pittsburgh's contribution to American triumph in the World War was from every point of view a remarkable achievement. That war involved factory power quite as much as the element of heroic human service, and the enormous factory power of Pittsburgh was utilized by the nation throughout the crisis in a manner for which world history affords no parallel.

The history of the World War still remains for the greater part to be written. In order to present a complete account of Pittsburgh's rôle in that struggle, it was necessary to consult many newspaper files, detached and uncorrelated military documents, etc., but the essential part of the story is told with abundant detail for the first time in this volume.

## THE WAR OF 1812

The military organization which associated the name of Pittsburgh more than any other with the War of 1812—the so-called second War of Independence—was the Pittsburgh Blues. When the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was called upon for a quota of 14,000 militia in this war, the Pittsburgh Blues, an organization of which the community was very proud, promptly responded. The Blues took part in a twelve months' campaign and were then mustered out of the service. This was not, however, the community's only assistance to the national cause, for cannon used by the Federal Army were cast in Pittsburgh foundries, and we also are credited with supplying a part of the materials used in building the fleet with which Commodore Perry won his famous victory on Lake Erie. Pittsburgh munitions were used by General Jackson in his New Orleans campaign in 1814.

The roster of the Pittsburgh Blues was given in the journal kept by Charles Pentland, one of the members of the organization, as follows:

Captain Butler, Lieutenant Mayer, Ensign Irwin, Trovillo, Orderly; Willock, third Sergeant; Patterson, first corporal; Pratt, Pollard, Park, Parker, Pentland, J. Davis, J. B. Davis, Elliott (Fourth Corporal); English, McMasters, Robinson, Wilkins, Haven (Fourth Sergeant); Allison, Graham, Chess, McFall, Maxwell, Matthews, McClany, McGiffin, Deal, Ross, Francis (killed in the action of December 19, 1812); Wahrendorff, Newman (killed in the action of May 5,

1813); Richardson (killed in action on May 5, 1813); Dodd (died in service); McKee (died in service); Watt, Deemer, Dobbins, Thompson, Read (Third Corporal); Neville, Vernon, Whiedner, Swift, Hall, McNeal, Clearfield, Jones, Williams (Second Sergeant); Barney (Second Corporal); Morse, Marcy, Clark, Elliott (Officers); F. Richards, Officers' Servant; W. Richards, Officers' Servant.

The authentic and detailed account of the twelve months' service of the Pittsburgh Blues in this war, given by Pentland in his journal, is still of interest, and is accordingly appended:

# PENTLAND'S JOURNAL

September 10, 1812, encamped on Grant's Hill.

Sunday, 20th, decamped under orders to join the northwestern army; marched one mile over the Allegheny river.

21st, marched to the Ohio; waited for boats.

23rd, embarked on a boat; arrived at Beaver the 24th.

25th, at Steubenville.

26th, at Wheeling, remained till the evening of the 27th.

Oct. 1st, arrived at Marietta.

Oct. 6th, at Gallipolis, remained till the 8th.

Sunday, 11th, Capt. Alexander's boat struck a snag and was abandoned.

12th, arrived at Limestone (Maysville).

13th, at night, landed about two miles above Cincinnati.

14th, marched into Cincinnati, encamped below the town, and remained till the 28th; then marched five miles to "Hutchinson's."

29th, marched twelve miles to Price's.

30th to Lebanon.

31st, to Waynesville.

November 1st, to Xenia.

2nd, to Yellow Springs.

3rd, to Springfield.

4th, to Markle's.

5th, marched eleven miles, near Darby.

6th, to Franklintown, the Headquarters of the northwestern army, and remained till November 25th; this day marched two miles on a secret expedition.

26th, marched fifteen miles, over Darby Creek.

27th, marched twenty-one miles.

28th, to Springfield.

29th, near to Xenia.

30th, into Xenia, and remained till December 5th; then marched into Dayton, and remained till the 9th; then crossed the Miami river.

10th, marched to New Lexington.

12th, marched seventeen miles. The object of the expedition was promulgated.

Sunday, 13th, to Granville, and crossed the river.

14th, marched fifteen miles into the wilderness.

15th, twenty miles.

16th, marched all day, and after supper continued the march till daylight.

17th, marched into the Indian town, on the Mississinnewa river, fifteen miles above the junction with the Wabash; captured a few defenseless Indians, and encamped in the village.

18th, the battle of the Mississinnewa was fought. The company lost one man; John Francis, killed; Elliott, Dodd, Read and Chess wounded. Total loss of the detachment, viz: eight killed and from twenty-five to thirty wounded. Decamped and returned two miles.

19th, marched ten miles on our return to the settlements.

Sunday, 20th, marched twelve miles.

21st. fifteen.

22nd, this day met a reinforcement with a small supply of provisions.

23rd, marched to within twelve miles of Greenville, and met another detachment with more supplies.

24th, to Greenville.

25th, remained till noon, and marched seven miles.

26th, to New Lexington.

27th, to Dayton, and remained till January 4th, 1813; this day marched ten miles.

5th, to Springfield.

6th, to Markle's.

7th, to Darby.

8th, to Franklintown, and remained till the third of February; then crossed the river to Columbus, and some deserted.

4th, to Worthington.

5th, to Delaware; N. M. Mathews joined the company.

6th, seven miles.

Sunday, 7th, to Scioto Block House.

8th, to Upper Sandusky, and joined the command of Colonel Campbell.

9th, nine miles.

10th, marched as usual, but were detained the greater part of the day by a false alarm; made four miles.

11th, to the Artillery Block House.

12th, to within one mile of Hull's road.

13th, four miles, and the road almost impassable.

Sunday, 14th, remained, prepared sleds, cars, and procured forage. 15th, road improved by severe frost, and reached Block house wamp.

16th, to within four miles of Camp Meigs, and encamped on the bluff of Miami river.

18th, into Camp Meigs, Head Quarters, situated at the Miami Rapids.

March 5th, marched to Presque Isle, eighteen miles; to reinforce a detachment sent to burn the Queen Charlotte, one of the enemy's vessels, supposed to be frozen up, and met the detachment returned, having been unsuccessful; returned ten miles to Swan Creek.

6th, returned to Camp.

April 26th, siege of Fort Meigs, commenced by the enemy, who were employed in erecting batteries till the first of May, when they commenced cannonading, which they continued till the 5th, when a reinforcement, consisting of United States volunteers, arrived under the command of General Greene, and we were ordered out to cover their entry into the garrison, which was effected with some loss to the Kentucky troops.

The same day the United States volunteers, and several other companies of the 17th and 18th regiment, made a general sortie, under the command of Colonel John Miller, which resulted in the capture of about forty-two of the enemy's regiments, and the routing of their Indian allies, with a considerable loss of American troops in killed and wounded. The Pittsburgh Blues had two men killed; James Newman and Mr. Richardson; five wounded; Willock, Ross, Williams, Dobbins and Wahrendorff. The attack was made on the enemy's battery, on the opposite side of the river, at the same time by General Clay's Kentucky militia, commanded by Captain Dudley, which terminated in a complete routing and capturing of that detachment, and death of the commanding officer. The enemy was quiet and on the tenth the siege was declared to be raised.

May 11th, Major Ball's squadron moved off, and General Harrison left for the settlement.

June 20th, received information of an intended attack by the arrival of a Kentuckian and Canadian from the enemy's quarters. Expresses were despatched and preparations made for the reception of the enemy.

Shortly afterwards Colonel Johnson's regiment of Kentucky mounted men arrived, and immediately thereafter General Harrison arrived with a detachment of the 24th infantry, commanded by Colonel Anderson, and preparations for the defence of the fort were continued. General Harrison left the camp again; Generals Greene and Clay in command.

July 18th, Captain Butler returned to the company (having been

absent to improve his health).

July 21st, the picket guard was attacked by the Indians, and several men were killed and captured. Lieutenant ——— arrived in camp from Portage river Block House with nine men, pursued on his way by the Indians.

22nd, the enemy quiet.

23rd, an express arrived; the camp was alarmed by the firing of small arms, being a strategem of the Indians (representing the fighting of two bodies of men at a distance, and approaching the garrison), which was intended to draw out a portion of the American troops in the fort.

26th and 27th, all quiet.

28th, the enemy descended the river.

30th, a reconnoitering party was detached, who reported that the enemy had retired, and the siege raised.

August 18th, the Pittsburgh Blues received orders to march to camp Seneca.

20th, marched to Portage river.

21st, to camp Seneca.

28th, to Fort Stevenson at Lower Sandusky.

30th, marched for Cleveland, and arrived at Vermillion river.

September 1st, arrived at Cleveland.

3rd, started for Beaver, arrived on the 7th, staid the 8th.

9th, marched to Davis's tavern, four miles from Pittsburgh.

10th, arrived at Pittsburgh. Having completed a twelve months' tour, were discharged.

The hearty support of our government in the War of 1812 by the citizens of Pittsburgh was assured from the very first, because many of the leading citizens of Pittsburgh had been officers in the Revolutionary Army and the last feeling of resentment against the new national régime had expired with the collapse of the Whisky Insurrection in 1794. Such men as General Pressley Neville, Colonel James O'Hara, Colonel Ebenezer Denny, Major Isaac Craig, Colonel William Butler, General John Gibson, General John Wilkins, Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, Colonel George Morgan, General Richard Butler, and others were uncompromising loyalists and it was these

men who made public opinion. The declaration of the war occurred on June 18, and on August 12 a mass meeting, at which all citizens of any consequence were present, was held at the tavern of William McCullough (Sign of the Cross Keys) to testify the public intention to uphold the hands of the government. Colonel John Neal was Chairman, and Ephraim Pentland was Secretary. A committee consisting of William McCandless, John Cunningham, James Alexander, William Brown, and Ephraim Pentland reported resolutions which an adjourned meeting held the following day adopted unanimously. These resolutions declared that the conduct of the British government deserved the execration of the civilized world.

A second town meeting held at the Court House on August 26, 1812, with Burgess William Steele acting as Chairman, considered what if anything should be done by Pittsburgh in view of the emergency created by the surrender of General Hull at Detroit. Hull's surrender of that point caused a fierce indignation which was voiced in the resolutions adopted by the meeting, but the resolutions at the same time declared that Pittsburgh was not endangered and that no special defense measures appeared necessary. The meeting did appoint, however, a committee of public safety, consisting of General John Wilkins, General Thomas Baird, Major Isaac Craig, Henry Baldwin, Esq., George Robinson, Esq., and William McCandless, Esq.

In response to the call of the Governor for volunteers, between 1,000 and 1,200 men enlisted in Pittsburgh from Allegheny County and adjoining counties. Pittsburgh was the rendezvous for all the troops intended for service between Meadville and Erie, the latter city being seriously threatened by the British from the Lake. Allegheny County constituted the First Brigade of the 15th Division of Pennsylvania Militia. This brigade consisted of the 76th Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel McEwen; the 16th under Lieutenant Colonel Ross; the 141st under Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins; the 146th under Lieutenant Colonel Courtney; the 62nd under Lieutenant-Colonel Logan, and the 125th under Lieutenant Colonel McNulty. When the First Brigade was finally recruited to its full complement it contained 3,350 men. The General commanding this brigade in 1814 was General William Marks. One of the incidents of this war which meant a great deal to Pittsburgh was the establishment of the Allegheny Arsenal here by the Federal government in 1814.

General Marks, as the reader has doubtless noted, was not the brigade commander in 1812-13. The post was then held by General Adamson Tannehill, but during the sickness of General Tannehill a large number of the troops deserted from the brigade encampment at Black Rock and came home in squads. Their desertion was due in the main to a quarrel between the commander of the Pennsylvania militia and the commander of the New York militia which communicated itself to the troops. Brigadier General

Peter D. Porter of the New York Volunteers, having accused the Pennsylvania troops of cowardice, was challenged to a duel by Brigadier General Smyeth of the Pennsylvania militia. Neither general was hurt, but in February and March, 1814, many of the Pennsylvania deserters were court-martialed and sentenced to pay fines of from \$40 to \$60 each.

# THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848

Pittsburgh, a hotbed of Whig and Free-Soil sentiment, supported the war against Mexico with enthusiasm. We quote from Pittsburgh and Environs:

An immense assemblage from all political parties met in the court house June 6, 1846, to express the sentiments of the community on the subject of the war. A committee of twenty was appointed to raise a sufficient sum to uniform the volunteers of Allegheny County. Congress was requested to increase the pay of soldiers to twenty-five dollars a month; also to provide a bounty of one hundred and sixty acres of land for each man who was engaged in battle, and to a widow of a soldier killed in battle, three hundred and twenty acres of land. The Pittsburgh City Blues, the Irish Greens, Independent Blues, Birmingham Guards and the Pennsylvania Blues, numbering four hundred and ninety-one men, fully equipped, officered and disciplined, offered their services to the government, ready at twenty-four hours' notice to proceed to the Rio Grande. Under the Ten Regiment Bill of Congress, the State authorities on November 19, 1846, ordered the 1st Regiment to rendezvous at Pittsburgh. It was thought at first that this regiment would contain many of the companies of Pittsburgh and vicinity but volunteering was so popular in Pennsylvania that only the Pittsburgh Blues. a continuation of the company of the same name which fought in the War of 1812, and the Duquesne Grays were accepted. The Pittsburgh Blues with eighty-seven men, became Company A of the 1st Regiment and was commanded by Capt. Alexander Hay; the lieutenants were Thomas Rowley, James O'Hara Denny and William Charlton. Duquesne Grays became Company K of the 1st Regiment, eighty-seven men, commanded by Capt. John Herron; the lieutenants were William Ankrim, William Trovilla and John W. Hague. The lieutenant-colonel of the regiment was Samuel W. Black, a prominent attorney of the city. At no time in history did Pittsburgh present a more military aspect. The men of the 1st Regiment arrived in December, 1846: a military ball was given December 21st, the tickets selling for five dollars; the Pittsburgh Theatre gave a benefit at raised prices; both these enterprises were to raise money to equip the volunteers. The officers of the regiment were presented with swords, the companies with flags by the citizens. The 1st Regiment marched December 22, 1846, to the wharf to take boats for New Orleans, where it encamped on Jackson's old battle ground, and was soon transported to the seat of war, joining the main army in March at Vera Cruz.

At the time of embarkation of the First Regiment from Pittsburgh, the authorities of Pennsylvania called for another regiment which was raised at once. Pittsburgh having furnished more than its share of the First Regiment was allotted but one company in the Second. This company, the Hibernian Greens, became Company I, commanded by Capt. Robert Potter; its lieutenants were William Rankin, James Kane and William P. Skelly. The regiment was mustered into service in January, 1847. Four companies proceeded down the Ohio River on the 8th of that month, and on the following Saturday the remainder of the regiment with the regimental officers and staff took their departure. Though five companies of Pittsburgh and vicinity had offered their services in the organization of the Second Regiment, but one was accepted. There were many young men of Allegheny County who were thus unable to enlist; therefore two other companies were raised and were credited one to Maryland, the other to the District of Columbia. They were recruited by Capts. P. N. Guthrie and Thomas A. Rowley, and joined the main army in Mexico in July, 1847. There was not the same enthusiasm in the departure of the Second Regiment as when the First Regiment left; the people had become settled down to war as a business. The citizens of Pittsburgh had met and fulfilled their moral obligation to the government, and were satisfied.

The city was alive with military movements in the first part of April, 1847; the streets were brilliant with uniforms, the pageantry and pomp of war. The new companies of the state were ordered to rendezvous within her limits, and vessels were chartered to convey the troops to New Orleans, Major Dusenberry having the superintendency of equipment and transportation. The troops ready for the seat of war numbered about 1,500, and the recruiting officers were notified as soon as they had 50 men to forward them to the front. The bombardment of Vera Cruz had been accomplished, the city and castle were surrendered, and American soldiers occupied the city. The sick and disabled of the First Regiment who had taken part in hostilities were ordered home or to the rear; amongst these were Col. Alexander Hay, Lieut. Thomas A. Rowley, of Company A, and Lieut. William Trovillo, of Company K.

General Scott rested with his army at Vera Cruz to complete arrangements for a further movement toward the interior of Mexico. The American Army

commenced the march to the Mexican capital April 7, 1847, and on the 18th of that month overpowered the Mexican army at Cerro Gordo under General Santa Anna. Resting upon his laurels, General Scott advanced his army to Jalapa, where three companies of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment (who had been quarantined on Lobos Island on account of smallpox) joined the main army. An advance was made to Pueblo, but owing to the hot weather which was depleting the fighting strength of the army, further operations were delayed for the summer.

The streets of Pittsburgh were brilliantly illuminated in pursuance of a proclamation of the Mayor on April 24, 1847, in honor of the recent victories of Generals Scott and Taylor in Mexico. The company organized by Captain Guthrie, consisting of 59 men, left for Mexico early in May, 1847, and was assigned to the 11th United States Infantry Regiment. After the month of March, 1847, hardly a week passed without news that some Pittsburgher had been killed in battle, wounded, or died of disease or wounds.

General Scott remained in Pueblo strengthening his army until August. On the 8th of that month the army marched toward the Mexican capital. The regiments containing the Pittsburgh soldiers were separated, the First Regiment remaining at Pueblo; some of its members secured positions in detached service and went with the Second Regiment on the advance toward the capital. The battles of Contreras and Buena Vista were fought, which brought the victorious Americans to the fortress of Cherubusco, situated on a high hill. The Americans met with strong resistance, but fearlessly charged from one intervening point to another, forcing the Mexican army to retreat to the gates of the City of Mexico. Five battles had taken place within five days, and were of such magnitude that a nation might exult in the glory of winning any one of them. General Scott established headquarters about a mile from the castle of Chapultepec, realizing that this castle and city would have to be taken before the conquest of the City of Mexico could be accomplished. The American batteries opened upon the castle August 11th, and by a general charge the next morning the enemy was routed. Following up, a general movement was made toward the Mexican capital. The Mexican lines were attacked September 8th in three places, but while their army was cut in twain, Scott could not support his advance and was driven back. Another attack being made, the Mexican army was again repelled, the Americans holding their ground. This last battle is known in history as the battle of Molino del Rey, and was the bloodiest battle of the Mexican War. The Pittsburgh history already quoted says: "The 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment was in the thickest part of the battle, also Guthrie's company with the 11th United States Infantry. On the morning of September 14th the American army entered the City of Mexico. In the battle before the gates of that city, the Hibernian Greens fought continuously for three days without food, displaying great hardihood and bravery. The Pittsburgh volunteers without exception bore themselves with great gallantry in the series of battles which preceded the capture of the Mexican capital. The Pittsburgh Blues, who left the city with ninety-seven men, could muster for parade only twenty-seven."

The American army occupied the City of Mexico for nine months when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. Marching orders were received to return home. May 20, 1848, the regiments returning by the same route they had traversed inland. The regiments containing the Pittsburgh soldiers had suffered severe losses. Many had died at Vera Cruz, Jalapa, Parrote and Pueblo. Col. William B. Rodgers of the Second Regiment died a few days after the capture of the City of Mexico, and his remains were brought home for burial to Pittsburgh. More of the Pittsburgh soldiers died from sickness than from the casualties of battle. During the return march from the City of Mexico to Vera Cruz the regiments marched mostly at night and rested by day because of the excessively hot sun. The highest ambition of the surviving Pittsburgh troops was to bring home the bodies of soldiers whose graves were known. Robert D. Nicholson and Joseph Berk, of the Second Regiment, were detailed to Pueblo to secure these bodies; they left camp June 1, 1847, but never returned; the supposition is that they were murdered by guerrillas who infested the mountain passes.

# THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

Pittsburgh's enthusiastic loyalty to the Union cause throughout the War of the Rebellion, 1861-65, had long been foreshadowed. It was not only the humanities but our industrial interests which determined popular sentiment here overwhelmingly in favor of the Whig party. Indeed, our manufacturing interests had created a strong bias in Western Pennsylvania for a high protective tariff as early as 1820. Our newspapers and our business associations repeatedly proclaimed the high tariff gospel. Long, therefore, before slavery became a militant issue the sentiment of the people of Pittsburgh was politically opposed to the party that was dominantly southern. At the presidential election held in 1840, Allegheny County gave Harrison and Tyler 7,621 votes, while Van Buren received 4,573. President-elect Harrison when he went through the city on his way to his inaugural in 1841 received a tremendous ovation. Whig sentiment grew in the next four years without interruption, and it is asserted that on September 10, 1844, a Whig convention held in Pittsburgh drew 30,000 persons. Among the speakers at this affair was Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio. In that campaign with Clay running for President as the Whig candidate, Whig feeling in Pittsburgh was at fever heat. It was a picturesque campaign, featured by the erection of huge liberty

poles. The one raised by the ardent Whigs in front of the Monongahela House was 312 feet high, and was acknowledged to be the tallest pole in the country. The county gave Clay 8,083 votes to Polk's 5,743, but this substantial majority did not prevent Polk from being elected. Pittsburgh rejoiced greatly at the election of General Zachary Taylor as President on the Whig ticket in 1848. The new President visited the city the following August. Like President Harrison, eight years before, he was the recipient of a popular ovation.

Despite a very few voices maintaining the negative, Pittsburgh was the birthplace of the party which made Abraham Lincoln President, abolished slavery, and preserved the Union, but before the Republican party was organized here Pittsburgh foreshadowed this later distinction by giving birth to the National Free Soil party at a convention held in Old Lafayette Hall in August, 1852.

The Free Soil party consisted of the Old Liberty party, prominent among whom were James G. Birney, Salmon P. Chase, also the "Conscience Whigs" that numbered amongst them Charles Sumner and Charles Francis Adams, warm supporter of the Wilmot Proviso. It also included the followers of Martin Van Buren and those Democrats of the Empire State who were in favor of restricting the extension of slavery. The platform of this newly organized party declared for "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men." Speeches were made by Joshua R. Giddings, Gerrit Smith and many others. The convention nominated John P. Hale for President, and George W. Julien for Vice-President. In the election the following November, the vote of the county was: Scott, 9,615; Pierce, 7,226; Hale, 965.

In September, 1850, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the colored people of this vicinity, who had escaped from Southern masters, fearing that they would be reclaimed and sent back to bondage began to leave in squads for Canada.\* On September 24th, 35 negroes who had resided in the Third Ward, in Allegheny, left for Canada in one group. The newspapers expressed great surprise that there should be in Pittsburgh so many fugitive slaves betraying a haste to leave for Canada, but the phenomenon was due to the fact that one slave often had many relatives who were free, and, as all desired to remain together, the free slaves, as well as the others, departed for Canada. The Commercial Journal said: "We are told that the scene preceding the flight mentioned above would have excited the sympathy of the most cold-hearted; mothers and daughters, fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, were clinging to one another in despair at the thought of a separation which they seemed to feel would be for life." It was asserted that the scare was without foundation, because the fugitive slave law would be rendered inoperative in Pennsylvania. "If the people of

<sup>\*</sup> Pittsburgh and Environs, A History.



GRANT BUILDING



Pennsylvania say that their state shall not be made a field for kidnappers, it will be as they wish, and no act of Congress can make it otherwise." By the 27th of September it was estimated by the Commercial Journal that from 150 to 200 colored people had already left the two cities and suburbs and that many others were preparing to follow. The situation at this time was exciting in the extreme and numerous meetings were held denouncing the passage of the fugitive slave law, and regretting the hapless condition in which it placed the colored people. "The passage of the slave bill has caused much more excitement than we had anticipated. The opinion that the law must be repelled seems to be universal in this neighborhood." "Fugitive slaves.—We are informed that a large number of the negroes of this city, who were formerly slaves in the south, started for Canada on Saturday. They have been frightened away by the fugitive slave law."

On September 30, 1850, an immense meeting of the citizens of this vicinity was held in the market-house, Allegheny. Hugh Fleming, Mayor of Allegheny, presided, and upon taking the chair delivered a strong speech in favor of the repeal of the fugitive slave law. A. Alexander, J. Callen and Thomas Elliott were appointed a committee on resolutions. Thomas M. Howe, Republican candidate for Congress, delivered a powerful speech in opposition to slavery as did also Mr. Salisbury, Democratic Workingman's candidate for Congress and Israel Cullen, native American candidate for Congress. Thomas Cullen also spoke in opposition to the law. Strong resolutions were passed by this meeting, covering all features of the slavery question, and denouncing the institution in vigorous terms. John Ferral, as a working man, offered separate resolutions, denouncing the law and asking for an amendment of the state constitution giving colored males the right to vote. His resolutions were adopted. Messrs. Stewart Delaney and General Larimer also spoke against the law, declaring that its repeal meant the freedom of the whites as well as of the blacks. "We have never seen a larger or more enthusiastic meeting in Alleghenv. The demonstration is a proof that the indignation of the people is deeply aroused."

It was stated at this time by the newspapers that the slavery question overshadowed all others, and that it "must be settled, or it would settle the Union." One of the newspapers printed the following:

First fugitive slave case in Pittsburgh,—Day before yesterday a Mr. Rose arrived here from Wellsburg, recognized a malada boy, Geo. White and apprentice for the last two years of J. B. Vashon, Barber, as his slave, and claimed him. Rather than consign the child to bondage, Mr. Vashon, with a fidelity to his principals which does him honor, by means of his own and the contributions of others, paid the owner \$200, and the boy is now free. (I)... Any of our Southern

friends who want business done in their line in our dirty city should direct their communications, postpaid, to our good friend, Robert M. Riddle, or Judge Baird, with a special request for prayers for their success from Rev. Dr. Riddle. . . . Now, it would be so nice to see our tall friend, Robert M. Riddle, in full chase down street after some such piece of property as the one last caught in Philadelphia—an old woman with a baby in her arms.

The first case to be tried in Pittsburgh under the fugitive slave law was called before Judge Irwin in March, 1851. It was claimed that a colored man, Woodson, was a slave of Mrs. Myers, of Kentucky, and that he had escaped about two years before. The defense endeavored to establish a different identity, and several witnesses testified that his name was Gardener. and that he had lived here since 1848. The case was decided in favor of the Mistress, and the slave was ordered kept in irons until delivered to his owner. This case occasioned much excitement, and a rescue was thought probable, whereupon Mr. Rust, agent of the claimant, took legal steps to prevent such finality. The Commercial Journal sustained the action of J. B. Sweitzer, United States Commissioner,\* under the fugitive slave law, for his activity in preventing rescues, whereupon the Tribune said: "The local columns of this morning's journal contained a puff for J. B. Sweitzer, Commissioner. Wonder is Mr. Commissioner does not by this time begin to discover that his office is held in about the same estimation as that of a headsman." The slave, Woodson, was thus sent away from his wife and two children. The Journal. Gazette, Post and nearly all the other papers insisted that the law must be maintained, while the abolitionists and their organs at all times declared against it and in favor of rendering it nugatory. Woodson had been recaptured at Beaver where he had preached for two years. He had bought a lot. had built thereon a small house and was a thrifty mechanic. He was decoyed to the steamboat landing, seized and put in a small boat, taken out in the middle of the river, and placed on board a steamer that was held for the purpose. Subscriptions at Beaver and in Pittsburgh, for his purchase, were raised, and he was finally freed and brought back to his family.

Perhaps the most notable event in the history of Allegheny County, certainly so from a political standpoint, was the organization of the Republican party here, pursuant to call, on February 22, 1856. The call was as follows:

To the Republicans of the United States:—In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the republican party, and at these suggestions of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned Chairman of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Mass., New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Wiscon-

<sup>\*</sup> Afterward a general in the Union army.

sin hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention at Pittsburgh on the 22nd of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National Organization and providing for a National Delegate of the Republican Party at some subsequent day to nominate candidates for presidency and vice-presidency, to be supported at the election in November.

DAVID WILMOT, of Pennsylvania. LAWRENCE BAINARD, of Vermont. WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Wisconsin. A. P. STONE, of Ohio. J. Z. GOODRICH, of Massachusetts.

Great preparations were made for this important event. E. H. Irish, Thomas Steele, Russell Errett, B. C. Singerly, and Jared M. Brush were appointed a Committee of Arrangements; and Thomas M. Howe, William Robinson, Jr., George Marshall, T. H. Elliott, James McAuley, Neville B. Craig, John McCaskey, William Coleman, G. R. Riddle, Robert McKnight, George W. Jackson, and Joshua King, Committee of Reception. Delegates from other states began to arrive as early as February 20th although the first day of the convention had been fixed for the 22nd. On the evening of the 21st an impromptu meeting of the delegates then present was held at the Monongahela House for an interchange of views on the questions likely to come before the convention. Among those present were Preston King, Horace Greeley, E. D. Morgan, Simon Draper of New York; E. R. Hoar and A. M. Stone, of Massachusetts; Francis P. Blair, of Maryland; Owen Lovejoy, Abraham Lincoln, P. H. Bryant, and J. C. Vaughn, of Illinois, and Joshua Giddings, of Ohio. At 9:30 on the morning of the 22nd the Pennsylvania delegation held a meeting, over which George Darsey presided, for the purpose of formulating a plan to be followed by Pennsylvania during the convention. At II o'clock on the 22nd, Lawrence Brainard of Vermont called the convention to order and read the call. Upon taking the chair, he spoke as follows: "My first duty is to thank the convention for the honor conferred upon me, and my next to say that this meeting is simply to organize the Republican party and to put forth the principles, which are as I understand them, the same as those by which our independence was achieved, on which our constitution is established, and if we do our part with justice, wisdom and moderation the country and the union will be perpetuated. I have no more to say—that embraces my creed." John A. King was chosen temporary chairman, and upon assuming that responsibility said, among other things, that this was "a preliminary meeting simply for organization, in order to make a convention which shall put forth the principles of the Republican party." Upon the conclusion of his address, Rev. Owen Lovejoy delivered

a prayer of great earnestness and eloquence, among other things beseeching the Almighty to remove the present administration from power, and thwart its unholy designs upon the liberties of the free. A committee of one from each state was appointed to recommend permanent officers of the convention. Some members failed to arrive until the evening of the 22nd. Honorable R. P. Spalding of Ohio was invited to address the convention, but declined, stating that he had come to hear, not to speak. Horace Greeley was then loudly called for. "The white coat and broad, bald forehead of the Tribune editor was seen moving toward the speakers' stand and as he mounted it, he was greeted by a perfect whirlwind of applause." Mr. Greeley counseled caution, moderation and wisdom, but said, "I am not, myself, a very cautious man." He advised that the American party should be treated with great courtesy, and should only be asked if it was all right on the slavery question. He further said that, inasmuch as some men had come a thousand miles to attend this convention, it was a part of wisdom to be in no haste, but to deliberate calmly over every action. He said: "Let us deliberate without haste. The future welfare of this union depends on the action of this body." Preston King of New York was then called out, but excused himself. Joshua R. Giddings was called for but spoke briefly, and ended by introducing Owen D. Lovejov of Illinois, who delivered a characteristic speech of great energy and eloquence, declaring that it was no time for moderation; that it was a time for war to the knife and knife to the hilt; that he was prepared to take a company of troops to Kansas, and if that was denied him, was ready to go as a private. W. H. Gibson of Ohio and Mr. Carling of Illinois also delivered strong speeches. To enter this convention it was not necessary to be a delegate because the assembly was really informal and was merely a national mass meeting to cement the opposition to slavery and organize the new Republican party. As a stroke of conciliation to the South, Francis P. Blair of Maryland was chosen permanent chairman of the convention. His nomination "was received with such applause and enthusiasm as we have never before seen in a deliberative body." Mr. Blair was essentially a Southern man, and upon taking the chair said that the South was mistaken as to the designs of the North; that they believed the latter intended to work for the total annihilation of slavery, but that he was aware that the North entertained no such principles, and that their object was to combat the doctrines of nullification. He stated that if this fact was generally known in the South an entirely different sentiment toward the North would be entertained. Blair presented an elaborate letter from the Baltimore Republican Association addressed to the convention, reciting the Southern Republicans' view of the situation. The speech of Mr. Blair and the paper from the Baltimore association did not fire the audience with the enthusiasm expected. As a matter of fact, both were out of place in this convention, which had really met to organize in opposition to the expansion of slavery. So the speech and the paper were both brushed aside, and the convention proceeded toward the consummation of its great mission.

Other men present were George W. Julien of Indiana, Abijah Mann of New York, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, John Allison of Pennsylvania. and John A. Foote of Ohio. At the afternoon session, Charles Remelin of Ohio delivered a short speech on the issues pending before the convention. as did also Zach Chandler of Michigan and John A. Foote of Ohio. Passmore Williamson was brought before the convention and introduced "as the victim of Judge Kane." He was received "with such a storm of enthusiasm as we have never before witnessed." He delivered a short speech and was followed by R. P. Spalding of Ohio, George Bliss of Massachusetts, General Burrows of New York, and others. At the evening session it was announced that eight southern states and 16 northern states, in all 24, and four territories were represented in the convention. Speeches were delivered by A. Oakey Hall, Preston King, J. C. Vaughn of Illinois, Josiah Brewer, C. G. Hawthorne, George W. Julian, David Ripley and Joshua R. Giddings, the latter [who had spoken previously] coming out for a short speech in response to repeated calls. The proceedings of the first day's convention were a revelation to the citizens of Pittsburgh. "We have never heard more earnest, eloquent and thrilling speeches than were delivered yesterday in the Republican convention." ". . . The whole scene presented by the convention was calculated to make a profound impression and to cheer the hearts of the lovers of freedom. The vast assembly of thoughtful, earnest men, the torrent of eloquence pouring forth in one incessant stream from almost every part of the union, from aged veterans and vouthful soldiers of liberty, and the stern resolve manifested in every tone, word and act of the convention rendered it one of the most impressive and cheering exhibitions we have ever witnessed."

On Saturday morning, the 23rd, W. P. Sherman, one of the vice-presidents, took the chair and as no committee was yet ready to report, speaking and miscellaneous business were announced in order. Speeches were limited to 10 minutes. A long and eloquent letter from Cassius M. Clay was read, in which he declared that cotton was no longer king. One of the most attractive and eloquent speeches of the morning was delivered by Dr. E. D. Gazzam. J. W. Stone of Massachusetts delivered an important speech and was followed by Mr. Burrows of New York who referred in sarcastic terms to the policies of the American party in so persistently opposing the Pope of Rome while the evil of slavery was gaining such grounds and momentum in the United States. The committee on national organization presented a report favoring the appointment of a national executive committee and the formation of local organizations in every town, county and state. David

Wilmot of Pennsylvania was appointed a member of the national executive committee, and the time and place of the national convention to nominate a President and Vice-President were fixed at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856. During the progress of the convention, a dispatch was read from the American convention then in session at Philadelphia, stating that that body had dissolved, and that the party had decided to cast its lot with the new Republican party, owing to the importance of the slavery question.

Among the notable addresses made was one by Mr. Mann of New York. which was regarded as so important as to demand repetition. He said that he felt the responsibility he assumed when he made the declaration in the face of the administration and the powers of the central government, that if the government, by any authority it may assume, should shed one drop of human blood in Kansas, that would be the end of human slavery, not only in this country, but in every other land. This remark was made by Mr. Mann at the time he presented to the convention the address to the American people which had been prepared by special committee of which he was chairman. It required two hours for Mr. Dennison of Ohio to read the address. That important document demanded the repeal of all laws recognizing slavery in any territory hitherto consecrated to freedom, opposed the admission of any more slave states to the union, appointed a national Republican executive committee to call a national convention to nominate a President and Vice-President. urged upon Republicans the importance of thorough organization, favored supporting Kansas in her struggle to exclude slavery from her territory, and declared that the present national administration which was wedded to slavery and faithless to freedom should be defeated and overthrown. The address was adopted with nine cheers and the convention thereupon adjourned.

It is a notable fact in connection with the meetings on August 29th and September 5, 1855, and on February 22, 1856, that all other questions of party policy were temporarily abandoned in view of the overshadowing importance of the one relating to slavery.\* At the meeting of August 29, 1855, two of the resolutions were as follows: "That the slavery question, as now presented, being the predominant, all-absorbing issue of the day involving the right of free labor, free speech and free government, it is our duty to forego all other issues and present an unbroken front in defense of the vital interest at stake; . . . But a platform thus common to all, and embracing no other issue, furnishes the only effectual rallying point for the people of the north, and affords the only possible opportunity for those who think together and act together." In none of the three meetings referred to was the subject of protection introduced, but it must not be supposed that such well-established political principle was abandoned. The Republican party, thus organized, was considered the lineal descendant of the Whig party,

<sup>\*</sup> History of Pittsburgh and Enzirons.

built upon a stronger and purer basis, embracing all the old questions, for which the Whigs had so valiantly fought; but such great issues were temporarily laid aside until the overshadowing one of hostility to slavery should be placed in its proper position of importance and safety. At least this was true in Allegheny County. At the three meetings referred to it was distinctly stated that all other party considerations would be laid aside for the time being in order to blend all fragments opposed to slavery into one organization, the object of which was to take formal action concerning the paramount question of slavery. Not a word was said in the address of the February convention to the American people concerning any other national issue than that of slavery.

In February, 1856, the famous Dred Scott case came before the American people and attracted great interest. In Pittsburgh, at a meeting of the Kansas Aid Society held on February 18, 1856, George W. Jackson served as chairman, and Russell Errett, E. H. Irish, Thomas Steele, Thomas Elliott and George Coleman as committee on resolutions. The resolutions denounced the course of the national executive toward the people of Kansas, and recommended the formation of a Kansas Aid Society to help them form their laws and institutions. E. D. Gazzam, D. L. Eaton, R. C. Fleeson and F. Pierce delivered strong speeches in support of the resolutions. Thomas M. Marshall delivered the most brilliant speech of the meeting. He differed as to the methods which should be adopted in the Kansas emergency, and declared that the time for the bowie-knife and rifle had come, that the time for prayer had passed, that lovers of liberty should refuse to obey any law that recognized slavery and it then was the time to see how many men were willing to shoulder their guns for the cause for freedom. At the Republican National Convention, held in Philadelphia, commencing June 17, 1856, N. B. Craig, E. D. Gazzam and Dr. James Carothers represented the 21st District as delegates, and S. A. Purviance, George Darsie and Robert McKnight represented the 22nd District. It is not generally known that at this convention Abraham Lincoln came within a few votes of being nominated for Vice-President of the United States. Only one candidate, William L. Dayton, who secured the nomination, received more votes than he did.

The Republican party did not succeed in absorbing the American party. On July 15, 1856, a large mass meeting of the members of that party was held in Pittsburgh with William Woods in the chair. J. A. Sewell, R. P. McDowell, Solomon Sala, Dr. John T. Peters and John W. Riddle were appointed a committee on resolutions. The action of the Northern delegates in seceding from the February convention in Philadelphia, rather than bend the knee to the slave power, was heartily endorsed; the party, it was declared, was pledged to Americanism; that while it opposed the encroachments of slavery it would not interfere with that institution except to prevent its

extension into free territory, and recommended the nomination of John C. Fremont for President. The war cry of the Americans was: "Free speech, free press, free territory, and Fremont." At this meeting Lieutenant Governor Ford of Ohio delivered an address as did also General Wilson of Massachusetts. The latter asserted that if the Republicans and Americans would combine they could elect the next President and Vice-President. Ex-Governor Johnston delivered a speech of great strength at this meeting. General John Williamson likewise spoke and advocated very earnestly the unity of the Republican and American parties. This meeting was held on the Diamond, in Allegheny, at 8 o'clock in the evening. On the same day, a Republican mass meeting was held in Pittsburgh on the open tracks in the rear of the American House. General Robinson was chairman. General Wilson of Massachusetts declared that a revolution in sentiment was sweeping through the country, and that the overthrow of slavery was impending. He reviewed, in all its favors, the struggle in Kansas, and denounced in fervid terms the repeal of the Missouri compromise. Thomas D. Williams followed him with a speech distinguished for its brilliancy and eloquence. Governor Ford of Ohio also addressed the large assembly. Resolutions were adopted ratifying the platform and nominations of the national Republican convention. These two meetings took everybody by surprise, owing to the enthusiasm manifested and the eloquence and brilliancy of the oratory. For a week afterward the newspapers could do little else than talk of the proceedings. It was stated that 8,000 people were present at the two meetings and that nothing like it had been seen since the Harrison campaign of 1840.

The abolitionist sentiment which, as the foregoing attests, abounded in Whig and Free-Soil Pittsburgh for two decades prior to the outbreak of the Civil War left no doubt as to how this section of the country would react to the secessionist resolutions of the Southern states and the firing upon Fort Sumter by the troops of South Carolina. Abraham Lincoln was idolized in Pittsburgh and there was an outburst of tremendous enthusiasm on his behalf in August, 1860, on the occasion of the visit here of Ellsworth's Chicago Zouaves. A Lincoln parade was held with the Zouaves in the place of honor and after an exhibition drill at the fair grounds Colonel Ellsworth was presented with a sword by the Duquesne Greys. Even before the war had actually broken out, Pittsburgh got a taste of it when Floyd, the Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Buchanan, issued an order for the transfer of the artillery at the Allegheny Arsenal at Pittsburgh to Southern arsenals. The amazement created by this piece of treacherous impudence on the part of Floyd was as great as that occasioned by the attack on Fort Sumter. A tremendous meeting of protest against Floyd's action flooded Washington with telegrams of denunciation and expostulation, in consequence of which Floyd's order was overruled by the President and the guns remained.

The news of the actual outbreak of war with the attack on Fort Sumter reached Pittsburgh on April 12, 1861. Three days later \* a meeting was held at City Hall, attended by a demonstrative gathering of the citizens: addresses were made, flaming resolutions adopted, bands played, and all other interests became subservient to loyalty expressed by the people. Gen. James S. Negley was then at the head of the military forces of the Twin Cities, and on April 17th received orders to forward two regiments to Washington, to form a part of President Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops to defend the national capital. This call found Allegheny County, like all other parts of the state, almost unprovided with military organizations. There were in the two cities 10 volunteer companies—the Jackson Independent Blues, Duquesne Greys, Washington Infantry, Allegheny Rifles, Pennsylvania Dragoons, Pittsburgh Turner Rifles, Lafayette Blues, Pennsylvania Zouaves, National Guards, and United States Zouave Cadets; several of these had been organized during the military fervor following the visit of the Chicago Zouaves. Outside of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City in the country were a few volunteer organizations—the Pennsylvania Infantry at East Liberty, Aliquippa Guards at McKeesport, Turtle Creek Guards at Turtle Creek, two companies in Birmingham, St. Clair Guards, Union Artillery, National Lancers, and one or two others.

At the call for volunteers, recruiting commenced, and company after company offered their services. On the 17th the first detachment of Turner Rifles, under command of Capt. H. Amlung, 80 men strong, left for Harrisburg. The remainder of the company, which was organized from the German Turner Association, left the following day. They were soon followed by other companies, and in a few days word was received that Pittsburgh's quota was filled, and that no more could be enlisted under that call. The county had sent 24 companies—one in the Third Regiment, three in the Fifth, five in the Seventh, six in the Twelfth, eight in the Thirteenth and one in the Fourteenth. Of these, the Seventh Regiment was the only one which during the three months' enlistment was engaged in any actual conflict. The regiment was attacked by a regiment of cavalry, June 25, 1861, and suffered the loss of six men. On July 2nd the Seventh crossed the Potomac River, reaching Martinsburg, Virginia, where they captured a quantity of flour and destroyed 150 barrels of whisky. Most of the time was spent in drilling, doing guard and picket duty, but this stood them in good stead, as many of them reënlisted.

The Twin Cities; aside from their soldiers in the field, soon assumed a very important position in the conduct of the war. At the head of navigation of the Ohio, also a railroad center, it greeted troops in transit

<sup>\*</sup>The account of Pittsburgh's part in the Civil War is taken from Pittsburgh and Environs by permission of the publishers.

both east and west, some to join the Eastern, others the Western armies, and returning with their ranks broken, having served their term of service. The great manufacturing concerns were brought into requisition, changing their factories so as to produce cannons, armor plates, shot, shell, saddles, harness, wagons, gun carriages, caissons, clothing, and all other kinds of military accountrements and munitions of war.

The Committee of Public Safety, which was selected at a mass meeting held on April 15th, had authorized the appointment of a Committee of One Hundred to act in all matters pertaining to the "patriotic cause." At a permanent organization of this committee, William Wilkins was chosen president, and the committee was subdivided into finance, home defense and executive committees. One of the first acts of this committee was to stop for examination all goods in transit to Southern states. Preliminary meetings were held in the wards of the cities for the purposes of organizing a militia for home defense, and every precinct in the county soon had an organized body, some clothed in a cheap uniform, others with merely a military cap, while a large number sought no uniformity of dress or equipment. They were armed with arsenal muskets and rifles. The muskets were generally old Harper's Ferry flintlocks: the rifles were without bayonets, but in other respects first-rate arms. On May 11, 1861, the last company was supplied with arms; 2,088 muskets and 882 rifles had been distributed, and 5.500 men organized into Home Guard companies.

April 19, 1861, the day that the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment was attacked at Baltimore on its way to the defense of the national capital, was a busy day in Pittsburgh. The Firemen's Legion, the Duquesne Grevs and the Washington Infantry reported ready for marching orders, and troops from Ohio and other Western states began passing eastward through the city. The Wilkins Guards were rapidly organizing, and two regiments had been raised in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. A largely attended meeting was held in Allegheny City and five citizens were appointed from each ward whose duties were about the same as the Committee of Public Safety of Pittsburgh. The Duquesne Rifles, the Fort Pitt Guards, the Lafayette Blues, the West Pittsburgh Guards, as well as other companies, were rapidly filling their ranks. The chairman of the executive committee was notified by 84 ladies that they were ready to take the field to care for the sick, make bandages, supply lint, and any other duties that were necessary. Excitement was quickened on April 20th by the rumor that the Adams Express Company had a large quantity of war material destined for Southern cities. The cars were searched and a large quantity of blankets, shirts, shirting, army cloth, gloves, capfronts, zouave cloth, muzzle guards, etc., were seized and turned over to the Committee of Safety.

Orders received the following day by General Negley indicated that the

volunteer companies had been accepted by the government. The city was astir; it was a beautiful and bright day; to witness the departure of the regiment to the seat of war, thousands of people assembled. At an early hour armed men were marching hither and thither with colors flying and drums beating. The first regiment to depart from Pittsburgh to Harrisburg was the Twelfth, commanded by Col. David Campbell, a prominent citizen of Pittsburgh. The regiment consisted of Company A, Jackson, Independent Blues; Company B, the Duquesne Greys; Company C, the Firemen Legion; Company D, the Union Guards; Company E, the Washington Invincibles of Washington County; Company F, the Lawrence Guards of Lawrence County; Company G, the Monongahela Artillery of Washington County; Company H, Lawrence Guards of Washington County; Company I, the Zouave Guards, Company K, the City Guards. Norton McGiffin of Washington County was lieutenant colonel and Alexander Hays of Pittsburgh major.

From the excess companies a battalion was organized which soon became a regiment, and was known as the Thirteenth Regiment, commanded by Col. T. A. Rowley of Pittsburgh, the lieutenant-colonel being John N. Purviance, of Butler County, and W. S. Mellinger of Washington County, was major. To this regiment was attached Company A, the Washington Artillery; Company B, Union Cadets; Company C, the Negley Cadets; Company D, the Washington Infantry; Company E, the Fort Pitt Guards; Company F, the Rowley Rifles; Company G, the Taylor Guards of Bedford County; Company H, the Butler Guards of Butler County; Company J, the Shields Guards. and Company K, the Duquesne Guards. This regiment assembled early on the morning of April 24th on the East Common in Allegheny City, preparatory to their departure eastward. The first regiment to leave numbered about 800 to 900 men; the second regiment consisted of 1,200, and was accompanied by General Negley and his staff. In eleven days from April 14th to April 24th, 2,000 volunteers of Allegheny County had been recruited, organized, and sent to the front.

Besides these regiments, a number of companies had been collected at Camp Slifer, Chambersburg, Franklin County, and others were forwarded direct to Washington City; of the latter, three companies, Company A, State Guards; Company B, the Turner Rifles, and Company K, the United States Zouaves, were organized into the Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanded by Col. R. P. McDowell of Allegheny City. On the organization of the Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, at Camp Slifer, the Scott Legion became Company A; the Allegheny Rifles, Company B; the Allegheny Light Guards, Company E; the Pennsylvania Zouaves, Company F, and the Pittsburgh Invincibles, Company K. The field officers of the regiment were William H. Irwin of Pittsburgh, colonel; O. H. Rippey of Allegheny City, lieutenant-colonel, and Frank Robinson of Allegheny City,

major. The Negley Zouaves were assigned to the Third Regiment, and the Aliquippa Guards to the Fourteenth Regiment.

During the recruiting for these companies, the community was in a constant whirl of excitement. Public buildings, stores, and even private houses, were decorated with flags of all sizes and qualities. Revolvers, swords, bowie knives, sashes, and other weapons and military decorations were presented to the officers and soldiers by hundreds—individuals, companies and corporations vying with each other in liberality.

After the departure of the second regiment, recruiting still continued, military ardor did not seem to have abated, there were a number of companies in various stages of formation, and by the 26th of April no less than 26 companies aggregating a force of 2,000 men reported themselves to the Committee of Safety as ready for duty. These companies were not home guards, but enlisted for the field of battle, and though orders were received to close the military bureau for the time being, they were either countermanded or disregarded, for recruiting continued as briskly as ever and companies continued to be formed. The number of these unaccepted companies soon aggregated from 40 to 50, enlisted under the three months' call. Under a heavy pressure, Governor Curtin agreed to establish a camp at Pittsburgh. The Fair Grounds of the city were the site, and it was named Camp Wilkins. Three days later, orders were received that only six companies would be accepted from Allegheny County, which caused great discontent and excitement. The selection of the six companies to occupy the new camp became a theme of angry comment. At a public meeting, 45 companies were represented, and many favored disbanding to allow remote counties of the state to furnish their quota, but this was delayed until May I, 1861, when the six companies were selected. The unaccepted companies, though disappointed, still in a majority of cases maintained their organization and later formed a regiment styling themselves the Cameron Guards, and elected Alexander Hay colonel. The meetings held by the unaccepted companies were not always harmonious, and finally became gatherings for the purpose of venting contending views. The position of many of the officers was extremely trying; some had recruited companies with their own funds, and had supported men mainly at their own expense for several weeks. Companies that had made their appearance in the field at a later date had been ordered into camp, thus relieving the officers of their maintenance. This fact became a subject of bitter comment, claims being made of unfairness and partiality by the unsuccessful; so enthusiasm gradually began to decline, and when no aid could be obtained from the state authorities or the community, the companies gradually disbanded. The two organized regiments made a proposition to the Committee of Safety that they would maintain their organization if the community would furnish the necessary supplies and shelter for the men. Linden Grove was selected as a camp ground, but the committee declined to take the responsibility of furnishing support, as they were without funds, and, yielding to the inevitable, the regiments were disbanded. A concerted effort at this time by the community might have maintained two or three regiments at a comparatively trifling cost, until required under the second requisition for volunteer troops. The recruiting, by this action of not accepting the companies, was severely checked. In two weeks four thousand men had responded to their country's call in Allegheny County. The unaccepted companies to the number of 19 tendered their services to the national government, and a committee left for Washington, May 24, 1861, instructed to use all influence in their power to have at least five additional regiments accepted from Western Pennsylvania, but their efforts were in vain.

Governor Curtin, although he recommended the formation of a reserve corps, refused to sanction the formation of companies for such an organization, but was finally forced to do so by popular opinion. The new loan bill in the State Assembly called for the formation of 15 reserve regiments, the quota of Allegheny County being eight companies. Previous to this, there being no provisions for a reserve corps in the state, men were only entitled to their rations, but by this special act maintenance was provided by the state until the regiment was accepted in the service of the United States. Three thousand troops from the western part of the state soon gathered at Camp Wilkins, but this location was soon discovered to be poorly adapted for a camp. A military commission was selected and a new camp was established at Hulton, on the Allegheny River, and named Camp Wright, in honor of John A. Wright, on the staff of Governor Curtin. This camp was first occupied by the Warren Guards, afterwards known as the "Wild Cats," May 30, 1861, and with the removal of the troops from Camp Wilkins and other troops from adjoining counties there were soon 4,000 troops in camp.

Other states in the country favored a reserve corps long before the action taken by the Assembly. New York and West Virginia, the latter just beginning to assert its loyalty, willingly accepted companies from other states to fill their quotas. West Virginia established a camp on Wheeling Island and invited volunteers from all surrounding states. The two independent regiments formed of the unaccepted companies were pledged to three years' enlistment if taken into government service. The inducements held out by New York and West Virginia, however, were too strong for companies anxiously awaiting employment at Pittsburgh, and men began leaving in squads, finally in companies, for Wheeling. A squad of 30 men left May 14th for Camp Carlisle, on Wheeling Island; they were followed by 50 volunteers from other companies, and on the 22nd of that month the Spang Infantry and the Woods Guards left for Wheeling, soon followed by the

Plummer Guards and the Anderson Infantry. The Friend Rifles and the United States Zouaves left for New York to join Sickles' Excelsior Brigade. A few days after their arrival another company was organized, also a second company of Friend Rifles, which left Pittsburgh June 21, 1861, for New York, but owing to some difficulty on their arrival in that city, the major portion of them returned to Philadelphia and were organized into the celebrated Geary's Regiment, since claimed as a Philadelphia organization exclusively. Several of these companies were fully uniformed by Pittsburgh citizens. The recruiting for the reserve companies and those entering service in other states so reduced the unaccepted companies which still retained their organization that they were imperatively forced to disband. Thus was a fatal blunder committed in allowing those companies to enter the service of other states without making any provision for their recognition by the authorities of Pennsylvania. Many hundreds of men left the county in organized companies, and there is no doubt that nearly an equal number left singly or in small detachments and entered companies formed in other states. thus leaving no trace whatever of their military service. The neglect of the county to provide an efficient organization and to furnish support to the unaccepted companies had reduced the list of troops furnished, on which it had relied to avoid a draft, by nearly 3,000 men.

Under the auspices of the Committee on Home Defense, preliminary meetings were held April 20, 1861, in nearly all the wards of the two cities for the purpose of organizing a militia for home defense, and inside of two weeks organizations were perfected in almost every precinct in the county. The Home Guard was formed into three brigades under the command of Gen. William Wilkins. The First Brigade, commanded by William F. Johnson, consisted of the First Regiment of Rifles, Col. Samuel M. Wickersham; the Fourth Regiment, Col. Joseph E. McCabe, and the Second Regiment, Col. F. C. Negley. The commander of the Second Brigade was George W. Cass, and it consisted of the First Regiment, Col. William Phillips: Second Regiment of Rifles, Col. James B. Moore; Third Regiment, Col. J. M. C. Beringer. The general of the Third Brigade was John Birmingham; its component parts were the Fifth Regiment, Col. Charles G. Smith, and the Sixth Regiment, Col. Matthew I. Stewart. This body of men, equipped with old Harper's Ferry flintlock muskets and rifles without bayonets, were partially drilled and made but one public appearance, taking part in the grand parade July 4, 1861. It was made the target of not a little idle and malicious wit, and finally succumbed to ridicule and loss of novelty.

Toward the close of June, 40 companies were gathered at Camp Wright, and in the beginning of July the state officers organized the Eighth Regiment, Col. George S. Hays; the Ninth Regiment, Col. C. F. Jackson; the Tenth Regiment, Col. John S. McCalmont, and the Eleventh Regiment, Col. T. R.

Gallaher; the four regiments, forming a division under General McCall, proceeded to Washington on July 23, 1861.

Pittsburgh, like most other localities, did not escape the war profiteers, who smothered their consciences for the sake of greed and gain. At the outbreak of the rebellion there was but a small supply of military goods on hand and on purchasing supplies it became necessary to adopt a different standard of goods; in the haste in forwarding troops the ordinary routine of advertising for proposals was abandoned, thus opening a wide field for corruption and rascality. Some of the uniforms and equipments furnished the soldiers were of miserable quality—suits were rotten and poorly made; shoes had insoles of shavings or wood, and were so slightly made that in a day's wear the outer sole would part company with the upper; blouses resembled bolting cloth, more fitted to sift grain than protect the wearers from inclemency of the weather. Some contractors for these shoddy outfits were brought before the courts, but by aid of a large array of legal counselors, the unavoidable absence of the principal witness, the case was entered nolle pros, whereby the rascals retained their illegal profits.

Pittsburgh and Allegheny, aside from their soldiers in the field, soon assumed a very important position in the conduct of the war. Owing to the city's location at the head of navigation on the Ohio River, and its being a railroad center, the people were called upon to supply soldiers journeying both east and west with all they could eat. A subsistence committee was appointed to furnish meals to the soldiers as they passed through the city. The first regiment supplied was in July, 1861, and from that time to the close of the war more than 400,000 full meals or midnight lunches were freely supplied to troops in transit.

The result of the first battle of Bull Run caused great excitement in the North, but it aroused the people to the realization that the contest was of greater magnitude than it was deemed at first. As it became evident that the rebellion could not be suppressed in three months with 75,000 men, President Lincoln issued his requisition for 500,000 volunteers to be enlisted for three years.

The troops composing the three months' quota began reaching home about the first of August, though their service had been fruitless, consisting mostly of marching and countermarching, and they were completely worn out. The reserve regiments had been sent to Washington, but the city was by no means cleared of barracks. A camp for regular cavalry was established at Linden Grove, and service of the unaccepted companies that had maintained their organization was pressing forward. On July 25, 1861, Gen. George B. McClellan passed through the city and was entertained at the Monongahela House by the Twin City Rangers and the Allegheny Greys.

On the arrival of the disbanded three months' men, recruiting offices were

opened, and enlistments were almost as brisk as in the early days of the war. An immense mass meeting was held and resolutions were adopted urging the collection of funds to aid in filling up the companies, and to provide for the families of volunteers. The Sixty-second Regiment under Col. Samuel W. Black left for Washington August 3, 1861, being the first regiment of three years' volunteers to leave Pittsburgh.

The first year of the war closed with anxious hearts, which in the early part of 1862 were enlivened by Union victories, causing great rejoicings throughout the city. On Washington's birthday 100 guns were fired to celebrate these successes. It was a spontaneous outpouring of joy and thanksgiving for Grant's victories in Tennessee, at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson.

President Lincoln issued in July, 1862, his third call for volunteers; of the 300,000 to be raised, the Allegheny County quota was 15 companies. The largest and most imposing demonstration ever witnessed in the county was on July 24th, on the West Common in Allegheny City. There were present at least 15,000 people. Subscriptions were started for a bounty-fund, and in a month's time \$126,444 had been contributed. The quota of the county, exclusive of three months' men, was 10,593; from this number was deducted all who had since volunteered, and the balance, if any, were required to be furnished under the recent calls. On account of the threatening aspect of affairs, the news being that the Army of the Potomac had fallen back on Washington and the rebels were advancing on the capital, Governor Curtin called the militia to arms. Action was immediately taken in Pittsburgh, the citizens were organized and armed, and business houses were closed at three o'clock on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays to afford employees the opportunity of drilling.

There was considerable disloyalty, causing grave concern and dissatisfaction. The enrollment of the county proceeded, though the officers met with opposition; the commissioners finally reported that not a ward in either of the cities had exceeded its quota, although seven boroughs out of 15 and 17 of the 40 townships had done so.

E E	nrollment	Quota	Credits	Deficiencies
Pittsburgh	11,187	3,277	2,016	1,261
		1,609	1,354	255
Boroughs		1,941	1,752	189
Townships	13,333	3,766	3,236	530
_	37,090	10,593	8,358	2,235

A draft seemed to be inevitable and the governor appointed James L. Graham draft commissioner and Dr. A. C. Murdock surgeon for Allegheny County. The former declined to serve and William B. Negley was appointed.



MURDOCH ENTRANCE, SCHENLEY PARK



FORT PITT HOTEL, TENTH STREET

Tradition to

The first draft day was set for September 15th but it was postponed for 10 days. Strong and even fiery appeals were made in public meetings to fill the quota and save the county from a draft. The county executive committee, laboring to fill the quota and to avoid a draft, estimated that the county had furnished 12,676 men, which was 2,083 in excess of the quota. The enrollment commissioner figured that 785 would be required to fill the quota, but on October 4, 1862, he announced that no draft would take place, as the county had furnished a total of 13,284 volunteers. News was received from Harrisburg on September 15, 1862, that the rebels had invaded the state, and late in the evening of that day 22 companies left Pittsburgh for the state capital, five of which were from Allegheny County, the Duquesne Light Infantry having preceded these detachments. These companies of volunteer militia returned to the city on September 24th and 30th, and were accorded a warm welcome by the citizens.

The saddest page in the Civil War history of 1862 was the explosion at the Allegheny arsenal. When the war commenced, all possible war implements were manufactured on a more extensive scale than ever before. Employment was given to about 1,200 workmen, and the output of war material was immense, largely for the Western army. The commandant at the arsenal was Mai. John Symington, who seemed to have manifested a reckless and inexcusable want of caution in the management. When he took command there were three laboratories in which ammunition was manufactured. These were too small for war times, and on the commandant's advice a new laboratory was constructed. It was in charge of Patrick McBride, who had been connected with the arsenal for 16 years. The causes which brought about the explosion were of the simplest nature. The laboratory was located some distance from the other buildings, and a connecting stone walk was laid. The stone used in the walk was of a hard flinty nature, and almost every stroke of the mason's hammer drew sparks of fire. A suggestion to the commandant from those employed on the work that it would be better to use a softer quality of stone, met with the reply, "That cannot be, inasmuch as the contract calls for the grade of stone being used." Suggestions that the walk should be covered with sawdust, tanbark or sand, were disregarded by him, and though McBride covered it with cinders, he was reprimanded for acting without authority. In working the powder into ammunition, small quantities of fine dust were daily emitted which permeated and settled in every part of the building. The commandant was asked to grant the female employees a half holiday on Saturday, so the inside walls might be flushed with water and the dust removed. This request was refused, as the government was in great need of ammunition and no time must be lost in flushing walls. The weather for some weeks had been very warm, the atmosphere was extremely heavy. Not a drop of rain had fallen for more than a month,

On September 17, 1862, four tons of powder had been put into the laboratory. although it already held not only powder, but other highly explosive substances. In the early part of the afternoon a team was driven to the laboratory to convey a load of ammunition to be forwarded to the field. One of the horses while standing on the flinty walk stamped his foot, and in this way it is supposed a spark was generated which ignited the dust and instantly communicated to the dust-covered walls of the ammunition room. The main supply of powder was not exploded; at once the employees rushed to the doors to make their escape, which unfortunately opened inwardly. They were heavy doors, and in the excitement the weight of the employees jammed against them only closed them tighter. The main supply of powder then became ignited, and a most terrible explosion followed. Seventy young women and three men were killed, and several others fatally injured who died soon afterwards. The laboratory was torn to pieces, its walls falling in every direction. The trees nearby were filled with fragments of women's clothing and with dismembered parts of human bodies; 45 of the victims were so badly disfigured that they could not be recognized. The unidentified dead were buried together in the cemetery belonging to the government, and a monument was erected to mark their last resting place. Nearly all the victims were young girls between the ages of 16 and 20, who were employed in making cartridges and in other light work in the arsenal.

The war governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, was a guest of the city, October 3, 1862, and during his visit delivered a speech which attracted wide attention and was universally praised. During the second year of the war there were built and partially finished in Pittsburgh fifty steamboats, several of which were purchased by the government and converted into gunboats, and five tugs used as rams.

During the dark and dreary winter of 1862-63 little of importance occurred, the rebellion seeming to gain in strength. There were many instances of outspoken disloyalty; jealousies and incompetency in the Army of the Potomac and want of success generally of the Union cause made the outlook black and forbidding. There were constant demands for relief from the families of the soldiers, which taxed the resources of the wealthy and middle class of people. The benefactions of the relief and subsistence committees were like a gleam of light in the forbidding aspects of the times. The spring of 1863 brought urgent appeals from Wheeling for troops and guns to assist in repelling a threatened attack by the enemy. The regiment of militia received marching orders, but later advices came that they were not wanted. The first squad of enlisted colored men were sent to Massachusetts, April 20, 1863, others soon followed and many of the African race responded to the country's call. In May, 1863, the Secretary of War placed at the disposal of the community a battery to be used in repelling possible raids by guerrillas

or other marauding bands. A public meeting was held May 12, 1863, to devise means of defense; one of the militia regiments was placed on a war basis, the other two regiments were perfected in their organization and steps were taken for the organization of a battalion of cavalry besides four batteries of artillery for home defense. The Knights of the Golden Circle, avowed sympathizers with the Confederacy, became quite troublesome in their efforts in dissuading men from enlisting, though they did not attempt any other overt act of importance. They were called "Copperheads" and "Butternuts," and were kept in subjection by the Union League, which counteracted their influence. The return of the nine months' volunteers from the seat of war occasioned popular holidays in Pittsburgh, the returned soldiers being received with handshaking, hugging and kissing, with cannons booming and welcoming addresses.

Early in June, 1863, there were rumors of an invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and it was said Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Washington would all be objective points. It is hardly possible that Pittsburgh was included in Lee's itinerary, or even that Western Pennsylvania was to be invaded. Pittsburgh, while an important manufacturing center which would have been of inestimable value to Lee's army, was a great distance from the main Southern line and even if it could have been captured it could not have been held for any length of time. The Monongahela department of the army embraced all of Pennsylvania west of Johnstown and Laurel Hill. besides three counties in Ohio and West Virginia and was commanded by Gen. W. T. H. Brooks. The importance of Pittsburgh as a source of supply to the Federal army, and conceding the probability of an attack, the citizens rushed to the utmost limits the enlistment of volunteers for home defense. and regiments and battalions thus organized were tendered to General Brooks. The lawyers of the city organized a company under command of Capt. W. B. Negley, known as the Court Company. The governor issued a call, June 26, 1863, for 60,000 militia; the quota of Allegheny County was placed at 3,600. The excitement grew intense as the month of June progressed. On the 12th the governor announced that invasion of the state was imminent; this was followed by increased effort to place a large body of volunteers under arms. A meeting held on the Diamond in Allegheny City was addressed by the best speakers of the country. On the advice of General Brooks on the 15th, 2,000 men were set to work on the surrounding hills of the city to erect forts and rifle pits. Business was suspended, relays of willing workers commenced the erection of two lines of fortifications. The earthworks were completed July 4th. Mount Washington and the hills Herron, Harbison, Gazzam, Cemetery, Robinson, Hazlett, McKeevers, Turtle Creek and McGuire were well fortified and placed in as good condition for defense as possible. The reports of the Committee of Safety show that there

were as many as 6,000 men engaged on the earthworks at the same time. The citizens of Pittsburgh were praised by the Eastern press for their labors in the emergency and compared with those of Harrisburg, saying the latter took to their heels, while those of the former turned their attention to building earthworks and other military activities, thus exhibiting a wonderful show of energy and resolution, courage and loyalty, and a determination to defend their firesides to the last extremity, which was commendable and characteristic of the people.

The last week in June was full of darkness for loval hearts. The great army of General Lee seemed invincible, and was steadily marching into the peaceful valleys of the Keystone State. General Bragg in the West threatened Cincinnati and Louisville, while General Grant hung like Fate in the trenches of Vicksburg. Panic reigned in Washington, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, and constant were the calls for volunteers from state and national headquarters. Nobody could see any rift in the pillar of cloud which overhung the stream of blood across the convulsed continent. loyal hearts lost hope and confessed in agony that the rebellion was likely to succeed. A transformation, however, took place in the first week in July; Lee's advance had been stopped, and his army was retreating to defend the capital of the Southern Confederacy. Grant had achieved a glorious victory at Vicksburg, and Bragg had been checkmated by the magic strategy of Rosecrans. Again the skies were bright. Hope was restored; the crisis of the great war was passed, and these victories meant the final success of the Federal arms.

During May and June, 1863, Pittsburgh's second enrollment was made by J. Herron Foster, provost-marshal; there was little opposition. The threatened invasion of Lee's army turned the attention of the recruiting offices for the time being to home defense, but after the battle of Gettysburg recruits for the army were urgently called for and citizens began to hurry enlistments to avoid a draft. The advance made, however, was slow, and a draft was ordered to begin July 8, 1863. This was quite general throughout the county, but few districts escaping, and over 2,000 men were drafted. The building of gunboats in the city still continued, and in the fall of 1863 there were in the stocks in the shipyards the ironclads Manhattan, Marietta, Sandusky and Manayunk. Pittsburgh was aroused on September 12th and 13th on account of the bloody battle of Chickamauga, many of the citizens being members of Gen. James S. Negley's brigade, which suffered a severe loss in this engagement. A noted visitor to the city on October 8, 1863, was Gen. Franz Sigel.

In the fall of 1863 came the President's call for 300,000 men; the quota for Allegheny County was 2,601. Recruiting in the county was stagnant, the provost-marshal's time was greatly taken up in the arresting of deserters,

bounty-jumpers and drafted men. In November the committees began active work to fill their quota, with General Howe at the head of the county committee taking the lead. A camp was established at Oakland and named Camp Howe in his honor. The enrolling officers disclosed in November, 1863, the fact that nearly 10 per cent of the drafting population of the Congressional district were resident aliens, who had never declared their intention of becoming citizens. Recruiting was such difficult work it was finally abandoned, but in December a new effort was made, and in addition to the government bounty of \$300 a similar amount was recommended to be given recruits by the county committee. These inducements tended to increase recruiting, and districts soon began to clear themselves by raising their quotas.

The need of ready money was the cry throughout the land at the beginning of the winter of 1864. Additional calls were made by the President for volunteers on February 1, 1864, for 500,000 men, and on March 15th for 200,000 more. On the first call the quota of Allegheny County was 2,614, under the second 1,694, a total of 4,308. The draft was set for March 1, 1864; every person was appointed a committee of one to secure recruits, and if successful, was to receive in some districts \$15, in others \$25 for each man obtained. In some wards of the two cities, block committees were appointed to go from door to door to solicit volunteers. Toward the latter part of February recruiting was prosecuted with great vigor. The time of the draft was postponed to April 1st. During the latter part of March, bounties were raised to \$265; recruiting was revived, and the draft was again postponed to April 15th. After several other postponements it was finally fixed for June 2nd in Allegheny City, and June 13th in Pittsburgh. The quota required for the two cities was 2,373, which had been reduced to a deficiency of 479.

The Fort Pitt Works during 1863-64 cast immense Rodman cannons; one made in October, 1863, weighed about 114,000 pounds, having a length of 20 feet and a bore of 20 inches. A gun was cast February 1, 1864, in the presence of the inventor, Major Rodman, and other distinguished visitors. The gun in the rough weighed 160,000 pounds, was 20 feet and 3 inches in length, with a 20-inch bore, its maximum diameter being 5 feet and 2 inches, and when finished weighed 116,496 pounds; it was said at the time to have been the longest gun in the world. In the summer of 1864 a 20-inch gun was cast for the navy.

The passage of General Grant through the city to take command of the Army of the Potomac was the occasion of a dinner given him March 21, 1864, at the Monongahela House. Later that month several squads of the old regiments came home on veteran furloughs. The aggressive movements of the armies of Grant and Sherman in the early part of 1864 were received in Pittsburgh amid breathless excitement; bulletins of the battles from the front were eagerly read and hope was revived that the rebellion was nearing

its end. The death of Gen. Alexander Hays, however, cast a pall over the community. On May 1, 1864, his body was brought home and buried with great ceremony and honor. To repel a threatened invasion of Maryland, President Lincoln early in July, 1864, called for 24,000 state militia for 100 days' service, the quota of Allegheny County being fixed at 1,488 men. War meetings were held in both cities, bounties were offered, and by July 20th the quota was obtained.

On receipt of the news of the fall of Atlanta, business was suspended, the citizens assembled in mass meeting and with rejoicings celebrated General Sherman's great successes. The community again became alarmed when rumors became prevalent that the rebels were again on the march to invade the state. A full enrollment of recruits was ordered and placed under the command of General Rowley; like its predecessors, this scare soon vanished.

At the call for 500,000 men for one, two and three years' service, those enlisting for three years counting the same as three men, the community went loyally to work to fill the quota, as a draft was threatened in August. While there was no uniformity for bounties offered, it was agreed not to pay more than \$300 for one year, \$600 for two years, and \$900 for three years. The recruiting was rapid, volunteers being secured readily, and in 10 days 368 men were mustered into the service in the nine wards of Pittsburgh, and 111 in the four wards of Allegheny City. In the country districts the recruiting was slow, the aggregate in the county, including the cities, being only 898, and drafting commenced September 19, 1864.

Sheridan's great victory in the Shenandoah Valley and Thomas' successes at Nashville were celebrated by the firing of 100 guns in September and December, respectively. In the latter month came the President's last call for 300,000 troops. This electrified the citizens and set them again to work raising recruits. The local bounties varied from \$500 to \$550; the county offered a bounty of \$400; this, with the army pay of \$192, estimated clothing and rations \$350, made an aggregate of \$1,500 a year for volunteers. The quota for Pittsburgh was 1,192.

Early in March, 1865, the glorious victories of the Union forces were celebrated, and news of the evacuation of Richmond was received early in April. The community was enthused to demonstrations of joy, crowds rapidly assembled, the court house bell was furiously rung, and a wholly informal and unique meeting was held on the steps, addressed by prominent citizens. On the evening of April 3rd a vast concourse of people met as if by magic around the post office, business was suspended, and the following day 100 guns were fired from Prospect Hill; the names of Grant, Lincoln, Sherman and Sheridan were wildly cheered and were on every one's lips. The news of Lee's surrender was received on April 7, 1865, and gave an

unexpected stimulus to recruiting; no doubt the object in view was to obtain the large bounty and be present at the closing scenes of the tragedy of war. The people of Allegheny City celebrated the successes of the Union army on April 8, 1865, with a great public demonstration, including a display of fireworks in front of the city hall and a street illumination. The jubilee was punctuated, of course, with a profusion of exuberantly joyful and fervently patriotic speeches by Allegheny's most eloquent citizens.

Several wards of the two cities on April 10, 1865, suspended the payment of bounties to volunteers; three days later the War Department discontinued all drafting and recruiting. In the calls for troops, Allegheny County furnished 30,245 men; the county, however, was behind its quota several hundred men at the time of the suspension of recruiting. It is safe to say that Allegheny County furnished not less than 30,000 volunteers for the Federal armies. It should, however, be borne in mind that each man has been counted as often as he enlisted, which in some cases was three times. Pittsburgh being a central point and an official rendezvous for troops, the county may have received in the early stages of the war credits of men from other places who were anxious to enter the service; this number was, however, small. The estimated loss of life in the rebellion from Allegheny County was 4,000 men.

The assassination of President Lincoln trailed the Union victories with sorrow. The news reached Pittsburgh on the morning of April 14th; all public buildings were draped in crape, the likeness of the dead President, with mourning emblems and the national colors, were displayed in hundreds of windows. An immense multitude gathered around a stand erected over the post office steps, where prayer was offered and the assemblage was addressed by an eloquent speaker, extolling the virtues of the Martyr President and the irreparable loss to the country. The members of the bench and bar assembled in the court house and passed suitable resolutions, which were spread on the court records. The people did not recover from their grief for several days, and at the hour when the obsequies of President Lincoln were held in Washington business in Pittsburgh was suspended in obedience to a proclamation by the Mayor, large congregations assembling in the churches for memorial services.

No history of Pittsburgh's part in the Civil War would be complete without a reference to the work of the Subsistence Committee, which was composed of loyal and public-spirited women who devoted themselves to the entertainment of soldiers passing through the city on their way to and from the front. In the early part of the war it was asserted that a regiment in transit had not met with a proper tender of hospitality. To guard against a repetition of the incident, the Subsistence Committee was organized. For the entertainment of the soldiers it used at first the old Leech warehouse, but later the old City Hall. In the first nine months after its organization the committee fed 43,000 Union soldiers and 408,000 during the war. The work was early extended to making a large quantity of socks, comforts, towels, dressing gowns, pillows, blankets, mittens, scarfs, etc., which were sent to the field hospitals. In January, 1863, the Subsistence Committee established a home for sick and disabled soldiers in a building on Liberty Street.

A second activity of which there must be mention was the holding of the famous Sanitary Fair. The decision to hold such a fair was reached at a town meeting on March 5, 1864.

At a subsequent meeting a complete organization was perfected and an executive committee appointed consisting of Felix R. Brunot, Thomas M. Howe, John H. Shoenberger, J. I. Bennett, John W. Chalfant, Charles W. Batchelor, B. F. Jones, James O'Connor, James Park, Jr., Mark W. Watson, James Watt and W. S. Haven. The women's committee consisted of Miss Rachel W. McFadden, chairman; Mesdames F. B. Brunot, Tiernan, Paxton, Price, William Bakewell, Kaye, John Watt, Brady Wilkins, Algernon Bell, Misses Susan Sellers and Mary Moorhead. It was decided to hold the fair on the Diamond Square in Allegheny City and calls were issued throughout the country, especially in Western Pennsylvania, for "anything that could be eaten, worn, sold, or was curious to look at." Ten carloads of lumber were received in one lot and was used in the building of Flora Hall, Monitor Hall, Mechanics' Hall, and other structures, which soon began to take shape, being erected by the free labor of carpenters. The Art Gallery and Old Curiosity Shop were established in the City Council chambers. The Sanitary Fair Fund was started and on May 26th amounted to \$46,711.38, and when the fair opened on June 1st, Nathaniel Holmes, the treasurer, had on hand cash amounting to \$84,059.37 with pledges that raised the amount to \$101,-029.77. It was decided at the outset that 10 per cent of the net proceeds should be used in building a Soldiers' Home for the subsistence committee, 25 per cent should be devoted to a home for disabled soldiers and their orphans, unless the same should be needed for the sick and wounded during the progress of the war.

The fair was opened with ceremony, the chief feature of which was a large civic parade commanded by General Negley, with the Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, Pennsylvania's war governor, and his staff in the places of honor.

The receipts of the first day amounted to \$14,454.23. When the fair ended June 18th there had been realized from all sources \$363,570.09. The Pittsburgh Sanitary Commission, August 9, 1864, by a resolution set aside from the proceeds \$80,000 for the establishment of a Soldiers' Home, if not needed by exigencies of the war. The sum of \$100,000, to include the \$80,000 appropriated, was on April 6, 1865, devoted to the establishment of a home for maimed, disabled and aged discharged soldiers of the Union army from

Western Pennsylvania, and a committee was appointed to carry this measure into effect.

The following is the roster of officers of three-years'-service men recruited for the Civil War in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County:

### CIVIL WAR THREE-YEAR MEN

Eleventh Regiment—Co. G, Capts. John B. McGraw, Robt. Anderson.

Twenty-eighth Regiment—Co. I, Capt. James Burr.

Thirty-seventh Regiment—Col. Geo. L. Hays.

Co. B, Capts. Robt. E. Johnson, Frank M. Nelson.

Co. C, Capts. Geo. Hays, Geo. L. Gallupe, Jos. Fricker.

Co. E, Capts. John W. Duncan, E. P. Shoenberger, Wm. Brooks.

Thirty-eighth Regiment, Ninth Reserves—Co. A, Capts. L. W. Smith, Chas. W. Owston.

Co. B, Capts. F. Hardtmeyer, Emil Von Sothen, Henry Fahren.

Co. C, Capts. James T. Shannon, Robt. Taggart.

Co. D, Capts. Robt. Galway, John K. Barbour, Jas. B. Ludwick.

Co. E, Capts. Chas. Barnes, Wm. H. Erwin.

Co. G, Capt. John B. Brookbank.

Co. I, Capts. Wm. Lynch, Hartley Howard.

Co. K, Capts. H. S. Fleming, Jones W. Ballentine.

Forty-fourth Regiment, First Cavalry—Co. K, Capts. Wm. Boyce, Jos. H. Williams.

Forty-sixth Regiment—Co. B, Capts. Wm. L. Foulk, Henry H. Greatsake, Elijah Barnes.

Co. F, Capts. Ben. W. Morgan, Neal Craig, Eugene Alexander.

Forty-ninth Regiment—Co. K, Capt. John F. Reynolds.

Fifth Regiment, West Virginia Cavalry Volunteers—Lieut.-Col. Alex. Scott, Maj. David D. Barclay. Q. M. John C. French.

Co. A, Capts. Albert C. Hayes, Wm. Otto, John A. Hurter, Oliver R. West. Co. D, Capts. Thos. Gibson, Jr., D. D.

Barclay, John B. Frisbee.

Co. F, Capts. Alex. Scott, Henry C. Flesher, Thomas B. Smith.

First Regiment, West Virginia Artillery—Co. G, Capts. J. D. Owens, Chatham T. Ewing.

Fifty-seventh Regiment—Co. C, Capts. Jerome B. Hoagland, Wm. B. Neeper, Sprague S. Hill, Michael W. Houser.

Co. E, Capts. Jas. B. Moore, Wm. S. Ebbeeman, Edson J. Rice, Edgar Williams, Ellis C. Strauss.

Sixtieth Regiment, Third Cavalry—Co. G, Capts. O. O. G. Robinson, J. Lee Englebert.

Sixty-first Regiment—Co. B, Capts. Lewis Redenback, Caspar Kauffman.

Co. C, Capts. Geo. W. Dawson, W. O. H. Robinson, Chas. S. Greene, John W. McClay.

Co. E, Capts. Alex. Hay, Wm. H. Crawford, Wm. J. Glenn, Chas. H. Clawson, Andrew J. Bingham.

Co. F, Capts. Isaac Wright, Chas. H. Bryson, Wm. H. Rogers.

Co. H, Capt. Horatio K. Tyler.

Co. I, Capt. Isaac Wright.

Co. K, Capts. Jos. Gerard, Louis Hager, David McClain.

New Co. K, Capt. Henry Scriba. Sixty-second Regiment—Cols. Sam. W. Black, J. Bowman Sweitzer, Lieut-Col. T. Frederick Lehman.

Co. A, Capts. Jas. C. Hull, Jas. Brown, Wm. Crider.

Co. B, Capts. Jas. W. Patterson, Wm. J. Salisbury, Matt. W. Felker.

Co. F, Capt. Edward S. Wright.

Co. G, Capts. Frank C. O'Brien, Wm. Kennedy.

Co. H, Capts. John Espy, Sam. Conner. Co. K, Capts. Alex. W. McDonald, Edward W. Timminy.

Co. I, Capts. Shepley R. Holmes, Detrich Gruntz.

Sixty-third Regiment—Cols. Alexander Hays, A. S. M. Morgan.

Co. A, Capts. J. M. C. Barringer, Wm. Smith, Wm. P. Hunter.

Co. B, Capts. Wm. S. Kirkwood, Timothy L. Maynard, Robert A. Nesbit. Co. C, Capts. Jason R. Hanna, Chas. W. Taylor, Geo. W. Gray, Geo. Weaver. Co. D, Capts. Harry O. Ormsbee, Ben. F. Durham, Wm. J. Thompson, G. Emanuel Gross.

Co. E, Capts. John A. Danks, John McClellan.

Co. G, Capts. Chas. W. McHenry, Isaac Mosshead.

Co. H, Capts. Maurice Wallace, C. B. McCullough, Wm. Keenan, Hugh B. Fulton, Wm. H. Jeffries, Dan. Dougherty. Co. I, Capts. Jas. F. Ryan, Wm. C. McIntosh.

Co. K, Capts. Chas. W. Chapman, Wm. Hays Brown, Theo. Bagaley, Geo. B. Chamlers.

Sixty-fourth Regiment, Fourth Cavalry-Col. Jas. H. Childs.

Co. B, Capts. Sam M. B. Young, Frank H. Parke, Jas. H. Grenet.

Co. E, Capts. Jas. A. Herron, Robt. H. Robinson, Wm. K. Gillespie.

Co. G, Capts. Ben. B. Blood, Elias L. Gillespie, Dan. C. Boggs.

Sixty-fifth Regiment, Fifth Cavalry—Co. L, Capts. D. P. Hagameister, John E. Reinmiller, John C. Brown, Wm. Rawle Brooke.

Co. M, Capts. Anderson Faith, John P. Wenzel, G. S. L. Ward.

Sixty-seventh Regiment—Co. I, Capt. John F. McDonald.

Seventy-fourth Regiment—Co. B, Capts. John G. Wilson, Peter C. Spencer.

Co. I, Capts. John Haman, Chas. Kopp, Ernest Matzka, Michael Rossell, Gustav Schliter, Gottlieb Hoburg, Carl Yettenheimer, Chas. Neidhart.

Co. K, Capts. Alex. Von Mitzel, John Zeh.

Seventy-sixth Regiment—Co. K, Capts. John S. Littell, Wm. S. Moorhead.

Seventy-seventh Regiment — Co. B, Capts. Thos. E. Rose, John W. Kreps, Frank A. M. Kreps.

New Co. D, Capt. Jas. Shaw. Co. E, Capt. Wm. A. Robinson. New Co. E, Capt. Sidney J. Brauff. Seventy-eighth Regiment—Col. Augustus B. Bonnaffon.

New Co. F, Capt. Jas. F. Graham. New Co. H, Capt. Paul Crawford. New Co. I, Capt. Charles D. Wiley. Eightieth Regiment, Seventh Cavalry—Co. H, Capts. Sam. Hibleo, Chas. L. Greene, Clinton W. Boone.

Co. M, Capt. Bartholomew Scanlin, Jos. G. Vale, Chas. Brandt.

Eighty-second Regiment—Col. David H. Williams.

Co. B, Capts. Wm. Kopp, Wm. H. Knight.

Eighty-third Regiment—New Co. G, Capt. Casper Gang.

New Co. H, Capt. Henry W. Horbach. Eighty-seventh Regiment—New Co. F, Capt. Jas. R. McCormick.

New Co. G, Capt. Wm. H. Trovillo.

One Hundred and First Regiment—Co. A, Capts. David M. Armour, Jas. Sheafer.

Co. E, Capts. Jas. Chalfont, L. T. Fetterman.

Co. G, Capts. Wm. B. Sprague, David W. Mullin.

Co. I, Capt. Geo. W. Bowers.

One Hundred and Second Regiment—Cols. Thos. A. Rowley, Jos. M. Kinkead, John W. Patterson, Jas. Patchell. Lieut.-Cols. Wm. McIlwaine, Jas. D. Kirk. Majs. John Poland, Jos. Browne, Thos. McLaughlin, Jas. H. Coleman, Jas. D. Duncan. Adjts. Robt. M. Kinkead, Alex. P. Callow, Louis F. Brown. Q. Ms. Allen C. Day, Jas. T. Wray, Andrew W.

Moreland, Marcus W. Lewis. Surgs. W. J. Fleming, Matthew P. Morrison. Asst. Surgs. Isaac Hughes, Jonathan H. Roberts, C. C. V. A. Crawford, J. J. Pennypacker. Chaps. Alex. M. Stewart, David Jones. Sergt-Majs. Andrew A. Wasson, Andrew Wayt, Wm. McConway. Q. M.-Sergts. Wm. Earle, Hamilton J. Rodgers, Wm. S. Sheib. Com.-Sergts. Wm. H. Cowan, Richard Barrows. Mus. Randolph C. Curry, Cooper Fielding. Hosp. Stews. Chas. F. Clifford, Arthur Wylie.

Co. A, Capts. J. Heron Foster, Chas. G. Foster, W. Stewart Day, Foster Alward.

Co. B, Capts. Thos. H. Duff, Thos. E. Kirkbride, Jas. S. McIntyre.

Co. C, Capts. Andrew Large, John Large, Denny O'Neil, Sam. Matthews.

Co. D, Capts. Wm. C. Enright, Jas. Patchell.

Co. E, Capts. John W. Patterson, Thos. Dain, Jas. Bishof, Sam. M. Duvall.

Co. F, Capts. Wm. McIlwaine, Jas. D. Duncan, Hugh McIlwaine.

Co. G, Capts. Jas. H. Coleman, John J. Boyd.

Co. H, Capts. Thos. McLaughlin, Robt. W. Lyon.

Co. I, Capts. Orlando M. Loomis, W. H. H. Hibley.

Co. K, Capts. Hamlet Lowe, Wm. J. McCreary, Wm. D. Jones, Geo. H. Workman

Co. L, Capts. Jas. D. McFarland, Jas. D. Kirk.

Co. M, Capts. Sam. L. Fullwood, A. D. J. Hastings.

One Hundred and Third Regiment—Co. C, Capts. Simon P. Townsend, Albert Fahnestock, John M. Cochran, Thos. A. Cochran.

Co. F, Capts. Matt. B. McDowell, Josiah Zink, John Donaghy.

Co. I, Capts. Wilson C. Maxwell, Wm. Fielding.

Co. K, Capt. Jas. Adams.

One Hundred and Fifth Regiment-

Co. D, Capts. John Rose, Levi Bird Duff, Isaac L. Platt, Wm. Kelly.

One Hundred and Seventeenth Regiment, Thirteenth Cavalry—Co. E, Capts. Patrick Kane, Nath. S. Sneyd, Geo. R. McGuire.

One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment, Nine Months' Service—Col. John B. Clark. Lieut. Cols. Fred'k Gast, Rich. C. Dale. Majs. Hugh Danver, Chas. D. Wiley. Adjt. Wm. P. McNary. Q. M. Frank M. Love. Surg. Henry F. Martin. Asst. Surgs. John S. Angle, Sam. S. Stewart, Wm. S. Stewart. Chap. H. L. Chapman. Sergt.-Majs. Bascom B. Smith, John Lord. Q. M.-Sergt. Franklin G. Bailey. Com.-Sergt. Jas. C. Pearson. Hosp. Stew. Laurence S. White.

Co. A, Capts. Fred'k Gast, Chas. D. Wiley, Ephraim Wiley.

Co. B, Capts. Hugh Danver, Hugh B. Murphy.

Co. C, Capt. David E. Adams.

Co. D, Capt. Horatio K. Tyler.

Co. E, Capt. John S. Bell.

Co. F, Capts. John Boyd, Michael Bair. Co. G, Capts. Dan. Boisel, Robt. T. Woodburn.

Co. H, Capt. Simon Drum.

Co. I, Capt. Robt. D. Humes.

Co. K, Capts. Henry Maxwell, Thos. Maxwell.

One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Regiment, Nine Months' Service—Col. Thos. M. Bayne. Lieut.-Col. Isaac Wright. Adjt. Alex. H. Rodgers.

Co. E, Capts. Isaac Wright, David Evans.

Co. F, Capt. Edward J. Seibert.

Co. G. Capt. Henry W. Larimer.

Co. H, Capts. Thos. M. Bayne, Sam. S. Marchand, Frank A. Dilworth.

One Hundred and Thirty-ninth Regiment—Co. D, Capts. Robt. Munroe, Jos. T. Black.

Co. E, Capts. J. M. Sample, Israel S. Hoag, Andrew S. Warner.

Co. F, Capts. Geo. W. Marsh, Wm. W. Dyer, John Snodgrass.

Co. G, Capts. Edward M. Jenkins, Sam. C. Schoyer.

Co. I, Capts. Jos. R. Oxley, John C. Dempsey, Wm. P. Herbert, John C. Sample.

Co. K, Capts. Jas. McGregor, Wm. L. Pettit.

One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Regiment-Cols. Edward J. Allen, John H. Cain, Alfred L. Pearson. Lieut.-Cols., James Gollard, John Ewing. Maj. John A. Kline. Adjt. Edward A. Montooth. Q. Ms. Frank Von Gorder, Jas. B. Palmer. Surgs. Jas. M. Hoffman, Jos. A. E. Reed, Elias C. Kitchen. Asst. Surgs. W. Stockton Wilson, A. D. Tewksbury, Chas. K. Thompson. Chaps. John M. Thomas, Jos. Mateer. Sergt.-Mais. Wm. Shore, Geo. F, Morgan, Arthur W. Bell, John H. Irwin. Q. M .-Sergt. John G. Ralston. Com.-Sergt. Wm. B. Glass. Hosp. Stew. Ellis C. Thorn. Mus. Hawdon Marshall, Wm. Mooney.

Co. A, Capts. Alfred F. Pearson, Frank J. Burchard, John C. Stewart, Edward P. Johnston.

Co. B, Capts. Ben. B. Kerr, Henry W. Grubbs.

Co. C, Capts. John H. Cain, Lee Anshultz, Jas. S. Palmer, Augustus E. Heisy.

Co. D, Capts. Frank Van Gorder, Jos. B. Sackett, Geo. M. Laughlin.

Co. F, Capts. John Markle, Edward E. Clapp, G. P. McClelland.

Co. I, Capts, Sam. A. McKee, John T. Bell.

Co. K, Capts. John A. Clive, Ben. Huey.

One Hundred and Ninety-third Regiment, One Hundred Days' Service—Col. John B. Clark. Lieut.-Col. Jas. W. Ballentine. Maj. Horatio K. Tyler. Adjt. Wm. P. McNary. Q. M. Francis G. Bailey. Surg. Chas. Bower, Asst. Surgs. Robert J. Tomb, Wm. N. Miller. Sergt.-Maj. John C. Mapes. Q. M.-Sergt. Wm. H. Jeffries. Com.-Sergt. Horace C. Ben-

ham. Hosp. Stew. Hamilton Yoder. Prin. Mus. David I. Campbell.

Co. A, Capts. Jas. W. Ballentine, Isaac N. McMann.

Co. B, Capts. John B. Clark, John S. Bell.

Co. C, Capt. John Dorington.

Co. D, Capt. Fred'k Gast.

Co. F, Capt. Jas. L. Graham.

Co. G, Capt. Jas. E. Crow.

Co. H, Capts. Horatio K. Tyler, Jas. R. Macormac.

Co. K, Capt. Isaac Wright.

Two Hundred and Fourth Regiment, Fifth Artillery—Col. Geo. S. Gallupe. Lieut.-Col. Jos. Browne. Majs. Michael Baer, Howard Morton, Geo. M. Irwin, Wm. H. Hope. Adjt. Robt. G. Hare. Q. M. Wm. H. McClelland. Surg. John Barber. Asst. Surgs. Jas. McCann, David R. Greenlee. Sergt.-Maj. Lucius R. Boyle. Q. M.-Sergt. Chas. Barker. Com.-Sergts. John N. Zeigler, Wm. T. Stevenson. Hosp. Stew. Wm. H. Whitmore. Chief Bugler, Ferd. A. Winters.

Battery A, Capts. Wm. H. Hope, Albert Peart.

Battery B, Capts. Geo. M. Irwin, Chas. D. Rhodes.

Battery C, Capt. Rich. B. Young.

Battery D, Capt. Webster B. Lowman. Battery E, Capt. Jos. Anderson.

Battery F, Capt. Francis C. Flanigan.

Battery G, Capt. Christian Rose. Battery H, Capts. Augustus Hani, Geo. W. Smith.

Battery I, Capt. Jas. C. Hawk.

Battery K, Capt. John M. Kent.

Battery M. Capt. Jos. B. Zeigler.

Battery M. Capt. John E. Alward.

Battery M, Capt. John E. Alward. Independent Battery C (Thompson's),

Capt. Jas. Thompson.
Independent Battery E (Knap's), Capts.

Jos. M. Knap, Chas. A. Atwell, Jas. D.

McGill, Thos. S. Sloan.

Independent Battery F (Hampton's), Capts. Robt. B. Hampton, Nath. Irish.

Independent Battery G (Young's), Capt. John Jay Young.

Independent Battery H (John J. Nevins), Capts. John J. Nevins, Wm. Borrowe, Edwin H. Nevin, Jr.

Two Hundred and Twelfth Regiment, Sixth Artillery—Col. Charles Barnes. Lieut.-Col. Jos. B. Copeland. Majs. Robt. H. Long, Jos. R. Kemp, Frank H. White. Adjt. Sam. J. M. Farren. Q. M. C. C. V. Vandegrift. Surg. Wm. B. Hezlep. Asst. Surgs. Wm. Taylor, James L. Rea. Chap. Wm. D. Moore. Sergt.-Majs. David S. Salisbury, Nelson P. Chambers. Q. M.-Sergts. Wm. L. Hunter, Wm. C. Rudyard. Com.-Sergt. Jas. J. Fowler. Hosp. Stew. Jas. M. Sprout.

Battery A, Wm. R. Hutchinson.

Battery B, Gustavus F. Braum.

Battery C, David Evans.

Battery D, Daniel Gravatt.

Battery E, Jos. B. Copeland, Jos. Keepers.

Battery F, Chas. Barnes, Wm. H.

Battery G, Frank H. White, Chas. F. Hadly.

Battery H. Malachi Leslie.

Battery I, Wm. H. McCandless.

Battery K, Thos. A. Stone.

Battery L, Robt. H. Long and David Cornelius.

Battery M, Jos. R. Kemp, Cornelius J. Watson.

# THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898-99

At the first call for troops at the beginning of the Spanish War, Pennsylvania's National Guard was ordered to mobilize at Camp Hastings, Mt. Gretna, April 28, 1898. It was announced that the old regimental formations would be kept intact. The companies were recruited to a strength of 75 men, and beginning May 7 the troops were mustered into the service of the United States. Only a very small percentage of the men of the Pennsylvania National Guard failed to volunteer, the Sixteenth Regiment (Oil City, Franklin, Ridgway, Titusville, Warren, New Castle, Kittanning, Cooperstown, Bradford, Punxsutawney and Jeannette); the Eighteenth Regiment (Pittsburgh); and Battery B (Pittsburgh), volunteering to a man.

The Western Pennsylvania troops were among the first in the country to be sent to the main mobilization camps. The Sixteenth Regiment, under Col. W. J. Hulings, reached Chickamauga May 13th, followed by Battery B of Pittsburgh on May 18; and on May 19 the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, under Col. Alexander Hawkins (this regiment being made up of companies from Washington, Monongahela City, Beaver Falls, Uniontown, Connellsville, Mt. Pleasant, Greensburg and Waynesburg), started on the long journey to San Francisco, where it joined General Merritt's force going to the Philippines. The two Pittsburgh Regiments, Fourteenth and Eighteenth, remained at Camp Hastings, Pa., until the early part of June, when they were ordered to different points for garrison duty.

Of the other Western Pennsylvania military organizations, the Fifteenth spent its time in Virginia, the Fifth at Camp Thomas, and the Sheridan Troop at Camp Alger, until the Porto Rican Campaign, when they sailed from

Newport News with General Grant's Brigade, landing in Porto Rico just at the time peace was declared and thus missing active service.

The Pittsburgh division of the Naval Reserves was not called on to go into the service, but many of its members volunteered for other branches of the service, particularly the Signal Corps. Besides the men who went out with the volunteers, Pittsburgh contributed 600 men to the regular army.

Hampton Battery B holds the honor of having been the only Pittsburgh organization in active service, the following officers, with 75 enlisted men, being mustered into service on May 7, 1898: Captain, Alfred E. Hunt; First lieutenant, Edward Eichenlaub; Second Lieutenant, Alfred W. Marks; Second Lieutenant, Wilson Cross; First Sergeant, Samuel J. Stewart; Quartermaster Sergeant, Alfred G. Loyd.

The Battery reached Camp Thomas May 20, and was assigned to General Williston's Light Artillery Brigade; drilling and drawing equipment. To bring the Battery up to a war footing 95 recruits from Pittsburgh were mustered in, making 175 men in all.

On July 23, the Battery was chosen as the first organization of the battalion of Artillery, under command of Maj. George B. Rodney, Fourth United States Artillery, to join General Miles' expedition to Porto Rico. On July 28 the Battery sailed from Newport News, landing at Arroya, Porto Rico, with General Brooke's division. Owing to the difficulty of using artillery against the skirmish lines of the enemy it was held in reserve, until the Spaniards were driven into a fortified position in the hills back of Guayama. On the evening of August 12 orders were received to march to Guayama, and to attack early the next morning. The Battery camped in the streets of Guayama that night, while the infantry came up, and at 6 o'clock on the morning of August 13, marched out the road toward the enemy's position, supported by the Third Illinois, the Fourth Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia City Troop; the Fourth Ohio, under command of Brigadier General Haines, going on a flank movement through the mountains.

General Brooke commanded in person, and, with Battery B in the van, the column marched slowly up the hill, unlimbering and going into battery at a point 2,700 yards away from the enemy. All was ready for the attack when a messenger arrived, bearing a telegram to General Brooke, telling him that peace was declared. Marching back to Guayama the Battery went into camp, where it remained until August 23, when the battalion was ordered to Ponce, there to take transports and go home, arriving in Pittsburgh on September 16, when a 60-day furlough was given the men.

On November 18 Battery B was mustered out of the service of the United States, and steps were taken immediately to reorganize the Battery for the National Guard. Only one death occurred, that of First Sergeant Samuel J. Stewart, who was buried with military honors November 18.

The Tenth Regiment, under Col. Alexander Hawkins, of Washington, was chosen to go to Manila with General Merritt's expedition. It left Mt. Gretna May 19, for San Francisco, where it encamped until the transports were made ready. It left San Francisco June 14. It sailed westward, stopping at Hawaii a few days and landing at Manila in time to take part in the battle of Cavite, August 8. In the night attack the Pennsylvania boys fought bravely, holding their position, and losing only two men killed and five wounded. Following this were several small skirmishes, the regiment finally being assigned to garrison duty in the towns, where its service was finished. The officers of the regiment were:

Colonel, Alexander R. Hawkins; Lieutenant Colonel, James E. Barnett; Major, H. C. Cuthbertson; Major, Everett Bierer; First Lieutenant and Adjutant, Harry B. Duncan; First Lieutenant and Quartermaster, Edward B. McCormick; Major and Surgeon, George W. Neff; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, John W. Coffin; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, L. P. McCormick; Captain and Chaplain, Joseph L. Hunter; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, Oliver S. Scott; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, Charles C. Crowell.

Company A, Monongahela City—Captain, Gustav Schoff; First Lieutenant, Robert L. Tidball; Second Lieutenant, John A. Ewing.

Company B, Beaver Falls—Captain, H. J. Watson; First Lieutenant, Edwin H. Carey; Second Lieutenant, Elmer H. Thomas.

Company C, Uniontown—Captain, Daniel Bierer; First Lieutenant, Charles H. Howard; Second Lieutenant, Robert M. Wood.

Company D, Connellsville—Captain, F. B. Hawkins; First Lieutenant, H. A. Clow; Second Lieutenant, A. J. Buttermore.

Company E, Mt. Pleasant—Captain, James A. Loon; First Lieutenant, James Harkins; Second Lieutenant, John G. Thompson.

Company H, Washington—Captain, Alonzo M. Porter; First Lieutenant, Blaine Aiken; Second Lieutenant, W. B. Ritchie.

Company I, Greensburg—Captain, W. S. Finney; First Lieutenant, Richard D. Leend; Second Lieutenant, R. Coulter, Jr.

Company K, Waynesburg—Captain, Thomas S. Cargo; First Lieutenant, John M. Wiley; Second Lieutenant, G. L. Gordon.

FOURTEENTH P. V. I.—The Fourteenth Regiment was held at Camp Hastings until June 11, when it was sent to Forts Mott and Delaware, to garrison these posts, remaining until ordered to Camp Meade, August 23. It took part in the Peace Jubilee at Philadelphia, and on November 14 started south to go into winter quarters at Somerville, S. C. The officers were:

Colonel, William J. Glenn; Lieutenant Colonel, James L. Graham; Major, John W. Nesbit; First Lieutenant and Adjutant, Jacob Miller Doolittle; First Lieutenant and Quartermaster, W. A. McLain; Major and Surgeon,

William McCandless Johnston; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, Karl A. Emmerling; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, James Louis Srodes; Captain and Chaplain, J. A. Barnett; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, A. C. McCoy; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, Frank Glenn.

Company A—Captain, C. C. McLain; First Lieutenant, George B. Shields; Second Lieutenant, A. V. Crockston.

Company B—Captain, John F. McLain; First Lieutenant, C. C. Huff; Second Lieutenant, T. Roy McLain.

Company C, Oakdale—Captain, H. J. Nesbit; First Lieutenant, John McEwen; Second Lieutenant, E. E. Fulmer.

Company E—Captain, Henry D. Fowler; First Lieutenant, Frank O'Graham; Second Lieutenant, William Sheehan.

Company F—Captain, W. S. McKee; First Lieutenant, A. C. Goedell; Second Lieutenant, Florence Lea.

Company G-Captain, Alpha T. Easton; First Lieutenant, Walter L. Wilson; Second Lieutenant, William Rising.

Company I, Elizabeth—Captain, Joseph B. Hamilton; First Lieutenant, G. W. Wright; Second Lieutenant, Frank C. McGurley.

Company K, Carnegie—Captain, J. Harry Corbett; First Lieutenant, Harry Couch; Second Lieutenant, John L. Presley.

SIXTEENTH P. V. I.—The Sixteenth Pennsylvania remained at Camp Thomas, Chickamauga, from May 13 until July 6, when it was assigned to the First Brigade, First Division, First Corps, under command of Major General Brooke, and sent to Charleston, S. C., to join the Porto Rican expedition. General Ernst commanded the brigade. The regiment remained at Charleston until July 22, when it sailed on the United States Transport Mobile, for Ponce. There the regiment was assigned to the advance, and going forward took possession of the town of Ponce, afterwards moving on into the country, driving the enemy's outposts. On August 8 the regiment started a flank movement, over the mountains, the intention being to have the Sixteenth assist in the attack on Coama, to be made by the brigade, early the next morning. Sleeping on their arms, the night was spent in the jungle, and early on the morning of August 9 the march was resumed, through an almost impassable country, and hurried forward to the distant sound of guns, until after eight miles of rushing and struggling through the jungle, the enemy was encountered.

The Spaniards occupied a strong position behind the military road north of Coama, and, being under cover, poured a heavy fire into the Sixteenth. This was answered, and slowly, but deliberately, the lines closed in until, finally, after one hour and ten minutes' lively fighting, a charge by the Second Battalion, headed by Major Reed, caused the Spaniards to drop their guns



FOURTH AVENUE, PITTSBURGH



and surrender. The regiment camped on the battlefield, and on the morning of August 13, was under arms and ready to march on up to Aibonita, where a strong force of the enemy, with artillery, was entrenched, when news of peace came.

Camp was established at Coama, and the regiment remained there until October 1, when it was ordered to San Juan. Half the distance had been covered when orders arrived to return to Ponce and embark on transports for the United States. Here the Third Battalion, which had been recruited and sent after the regiment, joined headquarters, and on October 20 the regiment reached home. It took part in the Philadelphia Peace Jubilee, and received a 60-day furlough, pending the muster out of the service.

The regiment lost 26 men from sickness and wounds during the campaign. Col. Willis J. Hulings was promoted to be Brigadier General of Volunteers, for gallant service in action. He reorganized the regiment on its being mustered out of the service, and, under his command, it took its old place in the National Guard.

Following were the officers of the regiment during its service in the United States Volunteers: Colonel, Willis J. Hulings; Lieutenant Colonel, George Collins Richards; Major, Fred S. Windsor; Major, John M. Reed; First Lieutenant and Adjutant, John Russel Robertson; First Lieutenant, and Quartermaster, William H. Corwin; Major and Surgeon, James Johnston; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, H. M. Thayer; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, William G. Johnston; Captain and Chaplain, Walter B. Lowry; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, Millard Scheide; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, John H. Fennerty.

Company A, Corry—Captain, John Frederick Austin; First Lieutenant, James Turner, Jr.; Second Lieutenant, Clyde D. Wilcox.

Company C, Bradford—Captain, A. D. Burns; First Lieutenant, W. J. Bovand; Second Lieutenant, Lester H. Simons.

Company D, Oil City—Captain, David K. Jones; First Lieutenant, James Hasson; Second Lieutenant, W. B. Loomis.

Company E, Cooperstown—Captain, Joseph McElhinney; First Lieutenant, Harry B. Bradley; Second Lieutenant, Edwin G. Beatty.

Company F, Franklin—Captain, Frank Barr; First Lieutenant, Chris E. Johnson; Second Lieutenant, Bert E. Shoffer.

Company H, Ridgway—Captain, Harry Alvan Hall; First Lieutenant, Alonzo M. Ent; Second Lieutenant, Harry Anderson.

Company I, Warren—Captain, De Forrest A. Wheelock; First Lieutenant, Lewis M. Clark; Second Lieutenant, E. Cassius Cook.

Company K, Titusville—Captain, U. Grant Lyons; First Lieutenant, James W. Young; Second Lieutenant, Anton Daub.

Company B, New Castle—Captain, Joseph V. Cunningham; First Lieutenant, William H. Dunlap; Second Lieutenant, James W. Cook.

Company G, Kittanning—Captain, Austin Clark; First Lieutenant, Frank W. Jackson; Second Lieutenant, Harry W. Bolar.

Company L, Punxsutawney—Captain, John D. Croasmun; First Lieutenant, Captain H. Boyles; Second Lieutenant, Patrick J. McMahan.

Company M, Jeannette—Captain, James M. Laird; First Lieutenant, Nelson C. Ely; Second Lieutenant, Martin E. Koonce.

EIGHTEENTH P. V. I.—The Eighteenth Regiment remained at Camp Hastings, awaiting orders. On June 5 Company F was ordered to Alliance, Ohio, to guard works of the Morgan Engineering Company, and on June 16 the regiment started to Delaware City. Another partition of the regiment occurred on June 23, three companies going to Fort Brady, Mich. On August 25 the regiment was ordered to Camp Meade, and on September 11 arrived in Pittsburgh, being given a furlough until October 22, when it was mustered out of the service.

The following officers served during the regiment's time in the volunteer service:

Colonel, Norman M. Smith; Lieutenant Colonel, Frank I. Rutledge; Major, J. Conrad Kay; Major, William H. Davis; First Lieutenant and Adjutant, J. B. Reynolds; First Lieutenant and Quartermaster, Lewis A. Anschutz; Major and Surgeon, C. C. Wiley; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, S. C. Milligan; First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, J. H. Hill; Captain and Chaplain, S. P. Long; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, Fred W. Eggers; Second Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant, James P. McNally.

Company A—Captain Charles A. Roessing; First Lieutenant, William M. Awl; Second Lieutenant, Elmer Heckman.

Company B—Captain, James H. Bigger; First Lieutenant, Ed. N. Parker; Second Lieutenant, Ira Shoemaker.

Company C—Captain, Frank H. Burkhardt; First Lieutenant, Andrew J. Davis; Second Lieutenant, Edward H. McFall.

Company D—Captain, Frank E. Doak; First Lieutenant, H. H. Rowand; Second Lieutenant, Charles Sharp.

Company E—Captain, Charles Donnelly, Jr.; First Lieutenant, William J. Callahan; Second Lieutenant, Frank Gross.

Company F—Captain, Samuel W. Jeffris; First Lieutenant, S. Walter Jeffris; Second Lieutenant, Dunham Barton.

Company G—Captain, John H. Rust; First Lieutenant, Oliver C. Reed; Second Lieutenant, Albert W. Obert.

Company H—Captain, R. W. A. Simmons; First Lieutenant, S. W. McElroy; Second Lieutenant, J. L. Stout.



WORLD WAR SCENE IN PITTSBURGH-VERA KAIGN (NIRELLA) SINGING TO GREAT OUTDOOR MEETING



When war was declared against Spain, the citizens of Pittsburgh at once organized an auxiliary of the Red Cross. An executive committee was appointed with the following members: H. K. Porter, Chairman; A. P. Burchfield, H. D. W. English, James Evans, H. D. Lyon, John R. McGinley, R. D. MacGonnigle, Harry S. Paul, Frank Semple and C. B. McLean. The officers of the Pittsburgh organization were: President, John B. Jackson; Vice-Presidents, H. K. Porter, John G. Holmes, Rev. W. X. Maxon, Albert J. Barr, Rabbi L. Meyer; Secretary, James I. Buchanan; Treasurer, James H. Lockhart; Honorary Vice-Presidents, Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead, Bishop Richard Phelan, Mrs. W. A. Herron, Mrs. Thomas M. Howe, Mrs. William Thaw, Mrs. Samuel Magee, Mrs. Mathilda W. Denny, Mrs. George H. Anderson, Mrs. Hugh C. Campbell, H. C. Frick, J. J. Vandergrift, C. L. Magee, James S. Kahn, Charles Donnelly, and C. B. Shea.

Nearly every church in Allegheny County formed sub-auxiliaries, and all kinds of garments for hospital wear and supplies of every description were collected and forwarded to the General Red Cross Warehouse on Wood Street. This headquarters was in charge of a committee presided over by Mrs. J. L. Anderson, Mrs. Thomas Liggett, and Mrs. J. J. Vandergrift. The sub-auxiliaries had a total membership of 6,174. The sub-auxiliaries suspended operations in October, 1898, after having been in existence more than four months.

Although the Red Cross sub-auxiliaries gave up their work in October, the city's civic support of the government was not finished, and Mayor Ford appointed a committee known as the Subsistence Committee of Pittsburgh to entertain soldiers on their way home from camp, and also to give attention to soldiers too sick to continue the journey. Quarters opposite the Union Station were fitted up as an emergency hospital and here many sick soldiers found comfortable beds, while others were furnished with appetizing meals.

### THE WORLD WAR, 1917-18

Soon after noon on April 6, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson signed the document which brought to pass an event that the nations of the world had been long expecting with differing emotions—the entrance of the United States of America into what was later officially designated the World War.

Pittsburgh was ready, and more than ready! Already the city was regarded by the Allied powers as the "arsenal of the world." Along the streams of Allegheny County the mills were working day and night turning out munitions for the Allied nations, one of whose generals said that "Pittsburgh steel is everywhere along the battle front."

In the light of eventualities it is well that Pittsburgh began her munitions

activities in 1914, for the plants built or enlarged, and the experiences gained prior to our entrance into the conflict, proved of incalculable value.

The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co. was, so far as can be discovered, the first of Pittsburgh's industries to receive an order from a foreign government for war supplies. This order was received December 30, 1914, and the specified materials were delivered to the British Government within 45 days.

The mere statement of this fact is not thrilling; but interest is given to the subject when it is known that to fill the order for 3,000,000 shells the company was forced to start literally from the "ground"—it had not a single man who had ever worked with or handled shells!

Then it was found that only two per cent of the plant's tools could be used in the making of the shells. It is recorded that the manufacture of a shell required 128 distinct operations and 51 inspections, while the inspection of the shell required the use of 65 gauges and the inspection of the fuse cap required 170 gauges. And all these gauges had to be manufactured and new machinery had to be built before even a start could be made on the order.

That was just the beginning of Pittsburgh's participation in the war, but it is a good example of what was accomplished by the efficient city at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. It is not possible to list all the countless activities here, yet those that follow will give an idea of how deeply the nations are indebted to Pittsburgh for aid in the war.

Because of the efficient handling of the original order, the Westinghouse plants received and filled a continuous succession of orders. One of the feats accomplished by them was the completion in 29 days of a plant for the manufacture of howitzer shells for the British Government. Within three months the plant had a capacity of 5,000 shells per day.

A total of 1,250,000 of these shells was manufactured and packed in lots of 2,000, and although each lot was subjected to a severe test by the British before delivery was accepted, not a single lot was rejected. This company manufactured a total of 5,058,000 shells of various kinds for the British army during the war.

Another order from the British Government is one which can best be appreciated by use of the imagination. Imagine a train of railroad cars extending 100 miles from the engine to the caboose. That would have been the length of the train if the 14,150 carloads of half-inch bullets and 18-pounder cartridge cases in this one order had formed one shipment. These cars contained 409,000,000 half-inch bullets and 1,250,000 cartridge cases. Most of these were made by the Westinghouse plants.

For their navy the British ordered from Pittsburgh 3,000 15-inch shells.

Each shell weighed 1,400 pounds and was 52 inches long—almost the length of an average man.

The Russians, also, called upon Pittsburgh for help—and received it. Their call was for 200 cartridge cases, 10,000 freight-car brake equipments, and 300 locomotive brake equipments.

The French Government ordered 150,000 freight-car brake equipments and 1,475 locomotive brake equipments in addition to great numbers of carloads of rough forgings for shells and guns.

Not satisfied with filling orders for already-invented commodities, Pittsburgh engineers in the Westinghouse plant developed a rifle grenade which was accepted by the French and Italian Governments. Orders for 8,500,000 of these, to be produced at the rate of 25,000 per day, were received, and again the Westinghouse people had to erect a new plant; but within three months from the time ground was broken for the building they were shipping 88,000 grenades per day.

By the time the United States entered the war, the Pittsburgh District had 250 great war plants employing 500,000 men and women day and night seven days a week.

From Pittsburgh about 100 carloads of unfinished forgings went daily to other districts for completion for the combatants; and it is said that 80 per cent of all munitions for the United States Army came from Pittsburgh.

The Mesta Machine Company was another local industry that worked continuously, providing each month 700 tons of shafting for the navy and 1,200 tons of shafting for the Shipping Board. Pittsburgh also constructed propelling machinery for 350 merchant vessels and for 36 destroyers.

While the factories feverishly turned out their vast quantities of war materials, the men in the bowels of the earth were more than doing their bit in extracting fuel to keep the mills working. In the Pittsburgh district the miners brought forth 20,000,000 more tons of coal in 1918 than they had mined in 1917. It is the proud record of these humble workers that they supplied 75 per cent of the coal used by munition makers in all the United States.

Workers in another line of industry turned their attention to food containers for the men at the front, and the Aluminum Company of America turned out 3,000,000 meat cans and bacon containers for the army.

According to an authority from which much of this material is obtained (Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine for October, 1921), "over 1,000 carloads per month of electrical fans, ranges, and wireless telegraph and telephone instruments, portable dynamos for the trenches and submarines, feetwarmers for the men in the crow's nests of ships, and numerous other electrical appliances left the Westinghouse plants."

Mention has been made of the railroad equipment furnished foreign gov-

ernments, and it is proper to note that Pittsburgh stood ably behind its own government in this respect, furnishing 27,400 freight-car brake equipments, 595 locomotive brake equipments, and 2,100 locomotive stoker apparatus.

Notwithstanding the fact that the plants were rushed with orders from the Allied Governments, they were ready to undertake additional burdens for the United States as soon as we entered the war. Engineers worked day and night in their laboratories, and to Pittsburgh men in the Westinghouse works must go the credit for the development of a special grenade discharger for the United States Army. The device was accepted and the plant awarded an order for 529,655 grenades.

Other engineers of the same organizations built for the government a 90,000-horsepower turbine, the largest on record.

While these thousands of invaluable contributions to the great cause of Democracy were being produced in Pittsburgh, affairs at the front were becoming more serious hourly; and more and more munitions were demanded to obtain a preponderant advantage over the munition plants of the Central Powers.

Again Pittsburgh was ready! From her mills poured an ever-increasing quantity of recuperator forgings, heavy gun forgings, howitzer forgings, and heavy shell forgings—until eventually the total tonnage from the Pittsburgh district was from five to ten times as great as that of any other industrial center of its size in the world.

Spurred on by the early desperation of the Allied cause the Mesta Machine Company achieved the amazing record of having produced 2,468 forgings in one month. The highest day's record was 86 forgings.

Recoil recuperators for the heavy guns were the heaviest ordnance used by the armies. Pittsburgh produced 10,534 of these, which meant that some of the greatest mills of the district were devoted entirely to this work.

For the United States Army this district produced 3,835 forgings of the famous 75-mm. gun and 4,255 forgings of the 155-mm. howitzer gun.

To the Carnegie Steel Company was assigned the task of producing many of the heavier pieces. That organization responded by producing 1,734 forgings for the 155-mm. gun and 710 forgings for the 240-mm. howitzer, which is said by authorities to be a record not excelled by any other plant in the world.

Old methods, no doubt, were good, but they were not good enough for Pittsburgh, whose engineers developed a new forging process whereby the presses worked the metal in the same direction from which the strain of firing would come. Products under the old process passed 93 per cent inspection as against 99 per cent by the newly discovered process, which was adopted by Great Britain and France.

Two Pittsburgh industrial concerns which had no experience in the work were called on to produce heavy gun forgings—the Edgewater Steel Company and the Heppenstall Forge and Knife Company. The record of the former was a total of 180 gun forgings of the 155-mm. type, 1,500 gun breech rings for the same type of gun, and 75 gun forgings for the 240-mm. howitzer type of gun, as well as producing 30 miscellaneous gun forgings. Before the end of hostilities was announced this firm attained the remarkable productive capacity of one forging for each type of gun every day.

The second of the firms mentioned specialized on forgings for the 4.7-inch gun and forgings for the 3-inch anti-aircraft gun, and one of each type was produced daily.

The National Tube Company was another of the local industries manufacturing munitions, and to it belongs credit for turning out a total of 600 sets of the smaller Livens gun each day until the end of the war.

Considering the achievements already noted, it is not surprising that the government had confidence in the ability of Pittsburgh to supply any munitions required in an emergency. One of the emergency calls in August, 1918, was for tank plate—armor plate that could not be pierced by a machine gun at 50 yards. The Carbon Steel Company set up a machine gun on the roof of its plant and made tests. Pittsburgh wanted to make good and furnish the specified 700 sets by the stipulated date—October, 1918. This plant did more. It produced 725 sets in the time allowed. That was another world record.

Still the calls came to Pittsburgh for help. Of what use were guns if there were no shells to fire from them?

Contracts required enormous shell production for Allied Governments. Notwithstanding that, Pittsburgh produced for the United States Army and Navy 3,500,000 shells ranging in size from the large 240-mm. high explosive shells to the 4.7-inch high explosive shells. The greatest number was for the 155-mm. howitzer. Of this variety over 600,000 were made.

Normally the names of the Standard Steel Car Company and the Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company are associated with products far from the classification of munitions, yet during the war these plants reached a production of 4,500 shells daily for the 155-mm. howitzer.

The largest monthly output of shells is credited to the Valley Forging Company, which produced 200,000 of the 75-mm. shells in October, 1918.

Industrial plants took delight in vying with one another in their patriotic efforts, with results that were not encouraging to the Central Powers. One month's record—October, 1918—shows that the National Tube Company and the Allegheny Steel Company each produced 160,000 shells for the 4.7-inch gun. Three other companies each produced in that month 80,000 of the large 155-mm. gun shells; and the Carnegie Steel Company made a rec-

ord by producing more than 100,000 shells ranging in size from eight to 14 inches.

Besides the finished products listed above, unfinished products went to other centers for completion. The French Government alone received each month from 50 to 100 Pittsburgh-machined 75-mm. recuperator forgings.

Although apparently worked already to the limit, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company accepted from the French Government an order for 10,000 LeChrone motors.

To produce still greater quantities of munitions the United States Government planned to erect on Neville Island, in the Ohio River just below Pittsburgh, the world's largest gun- and shell-producing plant, and about \$12,000,000 had been expended on the project when peace was declared.

It is not possible to obtain complete data covering munition expenditures in the Pittsburgh district; but it is known that on November 1, 1918, the United States Government had contracts here calling for the expenditure of \$215,405,000, which gives an idea of the stupendous wealth that flowed to the district as a reward for its ceaseless activities. Another illuminating fact made public by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, is that the company estimates the value of its contracts with all governments during the war at the colossal sum of \$1,475,000,000.

The first gas masks used on the Western Front by the British forces were from models made at the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research of the University of Pittsburgh soon after the Germans launched their first gas attack on the Canadian troops at Ypres, April 22, 1915.

Within two weeks after this astonishing and epochal attack, a dozen masks—six each of two designs—were made and chemically treated under the direction of Dr. James B. Garner, a fellow of the Institute. These were immediately sent to England and tried, with such satisfactory results that they were the base of future developments of the gas masks used by the Allied forces.

Dr. Garner's wife made the masks designed by her husband and those who were assisting him in their rush project; and before her death she had the satisfaction of knowing that the masks, so hurriedly prepared, efficiently served their purpose in saving hundreds of thousands of lives on the battle-field.

When the masks were prepared for testing, Mr. Howard D. Clayton, who was aiding in the work, volunteered to don one and enter a room filled with deadly gas—risking his life in silence, alone. His bravery seems all the greater because he had not the fortitude and gallantry of comrades all around him to spur him on and inspire him but faced the possibility of agonized death without the battlefield's stimulus.

History should remember the scene of this fateful test—Room No. 23 in the Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh.

In preparation for the trial a window was opened to insure a free circulation of air, and a cylinder of liquid chlorine was opened so that the air at once became fatal to a human being. Equipped with one of the newly invented masks, Mr. Clayton entered the room and remained thirty-one minutes before he could notice the faintest odor of the chlorine coming through the respirator.

Dr. R. F. Bacon, Director of Mellon Institute,\* who also was aiding in the project, communicated the wonderful results to the British Government; and immediately the twelve samples already mentioned were requested.

Another gas mask, named the "Tissot" mask, was developed by Dr. A. C. Fieldner, Chief Chemist of the local station of the United States Bureau of Mines, who began experimenting in April, 1917, and continued until September, when the work of manufacturing his mask was transferred to Washington. In that period of time 20,000 of the masks were made and tested for actual service.

A short time later the work was taken from the Bureau of Mines and given to the Chemical Warfare Service, Dr. Fieldner being placed in charge of the work and commissioned Major.

The first man to test the Tissot mask was Dr. Yandell Henderson of Yale University Medical School, who was connected with the Bureau and who insisted on being the first to enter the test chamber. His face and respiratory organs were perfectly protected by the mask; but the next day it was discovered that his hair was sadly bleached and such scant clothing as he had worn during the test was completely ruined by the gas.

Another of Pittsburgh's technical and intellectual contributions to the success of the war was the perfection of the homogeneous gasoline idea by Dr. Martin A. Rosanoff and his students at Mellon Institute.

This came about through the discovery of French aviators in the summer of 1917 that good aviation gasoline should contain only ingredients of intermediate weight—nothing light and nothing heavy. At a conference in Baltimore in the fall of that year Dr. Rosanoff was requested to take up the study of the problem.

After many unsuccessful efforts to get the army to take an interest in the matter, Dr. Rosanoff was encouraged in March, 1918, by receiving a telegram from the Signal Corps demanding the immediate preparation of a quantity of the proposed gasoline.

From that time on the exchange of telephone and telegraph communications became hotter and hotter until the period of greatest tension in July, at which time the United States Bureau of Standards discovered that the

<sup>\*</sup> Since succeeded by Dr. E. R. Weidlein.

homogeneous gasoline advocated by Dr. Rosanoff possessed an advantage in power of not less than 20 per cent over the best aviation gasoline previously employed, and that his process was the only one through which the American airmen could obtain an enormous and immensely valuable advantage over the Germans.

Then things began moving faster. The Signal Corps secured priorities for building the first plant; and Dr. Rosanoff was given extraordinary right-of-way, directing manufacturers and constructors to supply him with everything required in his work without question or a minute's delay. His students were exempted from military service so that they could assist him, and skilled mechanics were selected from the uniformed men and placed at Dr. Rosanoff's disposal in the work.

Another war measure in which Pittsburgh had a prominent part was the adoption of Daylight Saving Time.

Following the adoption of Daylight Saving as a war measure by Germany and the Allied Governments, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and other civic organizations urged that the United States do likewise, and Mr. Robert Garland of Pittsburgh was appointed head of a committee in the United States Chamber of Commerce to conduct research.

Although Roman schoolboys adopted daylight saving in the year 200 B.C. and Benjamin Franklin recommended it in Paris in 1782, the first convention for considering the measure in the United States was held in Pittsburgh on December 5th, 1916.

On November 30, 1917, the National Daylight Saving Association was formed in New York City; and the next day the Chamber of Commerce of the United States recommended the movement and supported the Borland Daylight Saving Bill in Congress.

During the following weeks Mr. Garland—advocating "An hour of Light for an hour of Night"—was indefatigable in his work for the measure; and on March 18, 1918, he had the satisfaction of knowing that on that date the National Daylight Saving law was enacted. The law as a national measure was repealed on August 22nd, 1919. The pens with which the President and the presiding officers of the two houses of Congress signed the law in 1918 were presented to Mr. Garland. Daylight saving meanwhile has survived repeal of the law, general public consent giving it the same effectiveness as law.

In the meantime the boys of Allegheny County were hurrying to the recruiting stations, ready and eager to do their bit at the front, and immediately after the declaration of America's entrance into the war, trainloads of local boys were on their way to training camp.

Definite figures cannot be obtained, but the Adjutant General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania estimates that the number who entered the service from Allegheny County was close to 60,000. Of this number, a



ROBERT GARLAND, PITTSBURGH Father of American Daylight Saving



total of 1,527 soldiers and sailors from Allegheny County were lost from all causes in military and naval service during the war.

The military units credited to Allegheny County were as follows:

Eighteenth Infantry, Pennsylvania National Guard; Col. Edward L. Kearns; became One Hundred and Eleventh Infantry, Col. Edward Shannon, commanding.

Regimental Headquarters, Headquarters Company, Supply Company, Medical Detachment, and Batteries B, E, and F, First Field Artillery, Pennsylvania National Guard, Col. William S. McKee; became units of One Hundred and Seventh Field Artillery, Lt. Col. Albert V. Crookston, commanding.

First Field Battalion Signal Corps, Maj. Fred G. Miller. Companies A (radio), B (wire), and C (outpost) became One Hundred and Third Field Signal Battalion.

Troop H, First Cavalry Pennsylvania National Guard, Capt. Charles C. McGovern; personnel transferred to Headquarters Company and Supply Company, One Hundred and Seventh Field Artillery.

Ambulance Company No. One, Sanitary Train Pennsylvania National Guard, Capt. William J. Sterrett; became Ambulance Company One Hundred and Nine, One Hundred and Third Sanitary Train.

Field Hospital No. One, Sanitary Train Pennsylvania National Guard, Major Arthur P. Schaeffer; became Field Hospital One Hundred and Nine, One Hundred and Third Sanitary Train.

Ambulance Company No. Four Sanitary Train Pennsylvania National Guard, Capt. Albert A. Wagner; became Ambulance Company One Hundred and Twelve, One Hundred and Third Sanitary Train.

Field Hospital No. Four Sanitary Train, Maj. Theodore L. Hazlett; became Field Hospital One Hundred and Twelve, One Hundred and Third Sanitary Train.

Truck Company No. Five Supply Train Pennsylvania National Guard, Capt. Harry P. McCoy; became Truck Company E, One Hundred and Third Supply Train.

Truck Company No. Six Supply Train Pennsylvania National Guard, Capt. James J. Firestone; became Truck Company F, One Hundred and Third Supply Train.

First Company Military Police, Capt. J. Clyde Miller; became Company A, One Hundred and Third Military Police, which became Twenty-eighth Military Police Company.

319th Infantry, 80th Division; Col. Frank S. Cocheu.

320th Infantry, 80th Division; Col. E. G. Peyton.

315th Machine Gun Battalion, 80th Division; Lt. Col. Thomas A. Rothwell.

111th Infantry, 28th Division; Brig. Gen. Edward A. Shannon.

At the beginning of the war in 1917, Col. Edgar Jadwin, then in charge of the United States Engineer's office in Pittsburgh, secured authority to recruit in the city a regiment of engineers, and in a short time a splendid body of men was ready for service and Colonel Jadwin was promoted to Brigadier General.

The "Famous Old Eighteenth," the first unit mentioned above, was the lineal descendant of the Duquesne Greys, organized in 1831 as an independent military unit.

The Greys served in the War with Mexico in 1845, becoming a part of Company K First Pennsylvania Volunteers. The unit also served in the Civil War. Later, as it increased in size, it became the Eighteenth Infantry and in the World War became famous as the IIIth Infantry.

The greater number of men entering the service in the World War from Allegheny County were assigned to the Eightieth Division. The next largest number, including the National Guard units, found their way into the Twenty-Eighth Division. Thus the Eightieth Division was predominantly constituted of Allegheny County men, and the Twenty-Eighth Division largely so. The history of the service of these two Divisions is therefore the history of the military service of the young men of Allegheny County in that unprecedented conflict, and the recapitulations, and explanatory notes accompanying, which follow, cover a very substantial portion of the community's participation in the field activities of the war:

### UNITS COMPOSING THE EIGHTIETH DIVISION, A. E. F.

Division Headquarters:

Headquarters Detachment. Headquarters Troop. Quartermasters Corps Detachment. Postal Detachment.

314th Machine Gun Battalion.

159th Infantry Brigade:

317th Infantry Regiment. 318th Infantry Regiment. 313th Machine Gun Battalion.

160th Infantry Brigade:

319th Infantry Regiment. 320th Infantry Regiment. 315th Machine Gun Battalion.

155th Field Artillery Brigade:

313th Field Artillery Regiment. 314th Field Artillery Regiment. 315th Field Artillery Regiment. 305th Trench Mortar Battery. 305th Field Signal Battalion.

305th Trains Headquarters and Military Police:

80th Military Police Company.

305th Ammunition Train.

305th Mobile Ordnance Repair Shop.

305th Engineer Regiment.

305th Engineer Train.

305th Motor Supply Train.

305th Sanitary Train:

Ambulance Companies 317-318-319-320.

Field Hospitals 317-318-319-320.

Division Medical Supply Unit.

Mobile Laboratory.

305th Mobile Veterinary Section.

# UNITS ATTACHED TO THE EIGHTIETH DIVISION WHILE WITH THE A. E. F.

(Period of July, 1918-March, 1919)

### I. ATTACHED FOR SERVICE PURPOSES: \*

Photo, Unit, Signal Corps.

Mobile Laboratory.

Veterinary Field Unit.

Sanitary Squads Nos. 20 and 21.

Sanitary Squads Nos. 67 and 68.

Motor Service Truck Unit No. 336.

Service Park Unit No. 336.

Service Park Unit No. 387.

Clothing Squad No. 315.

Salvage Company No. 15.

Salvage Company No. 306.

Salvage Company No. 308.

Salvage Company No. 314. Sales Commissary Unit No. 316.

Mobile Laundry Unit No. 305.

U. S. Army Ambulance Service No. 590.

80th Division Replacement Company.

Graves Registration Service Unit.

(\*Assigned to Areas and attached to Divisions when necessary.)

### II. ATTACHED FOR COMBAT PURPOSES:

(Meuse-Argonne Offensive, Sept. 26-Nov. 11, 1918)

### 1st Phase:

228th Field Artillery (French 75s).

289th Field Artillery; I Bn. (French 155s).

90th Air Squadron.

Balloon Company.

### 2nd Phase:

228th Field Artillery (French 75s). Co. —, 1st Gas and Flame Regiment. Tank Company ——.

### 3rd Phase:

157th Field Artillery Brigade.
65th Coast Artillery Corps; 2 batteries.
247th R.A.C.P. (French); 6 batteries.
219th R.A.C.P. (French).
53rd Pioneer Infantry; 2 companies.
1st Aëro Squadron.
2nd Balloon Company (also with 77th Division).
Co. E, 1st Gas Regiment.

### 80TH DIVISION COMMAND AND STAFF

Division Commanders:	Period of Command:
*Brig. Gen. Herman Hall	.Aug. 27, 1917—Sept. 8, 1917
**Maj. Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite (a)	Sept. 9, 1917—Nov. 25, 1917
†Brig. Gen. Lloyd M. Brett	. Nov. 26, 1917—Dec. 26, 1917
†Brig. Gen. Charles S. Farnsworth (b)	.Dec. 27, 1917
†Brig. Gen. Wilds P. Richardson	.Dec. 28, 1917—Jan. 5, 1918
†Brig. Gen. Gordon G. Heiner	Jan. 6, 1918
†Brig. Gen. Charles S. Farnsworth (b)	.Jan. 7, 1918—Jan. 10, 1918
†Brig. Gen. Wilds P. Richardson	.Jan. 11, 1918—Jan. 13, 1918
†Brig. Gen. Lloyd M. Brett	.Jan. 14, 1918—Feb. 28, 1918
Maj. Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite (c)	.Mar. 1, 1918—Nov. 21, 1918
**Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis (d)	Nov. 22, 1918—Apr. 11, 1919
Maj. Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite	Apr. 12, 1919—May 28, 1919

- \*Acting Division Commander to Sept. 9, 1917, pending Major General Cronkhite's arrival at Camp Lee and assumption of command.
- †Acting Division Commanders during Major General Cronkhite's tour of the Allied front in France. Command of the Division during this period devolved upon Brig. Gen. Brett, as senior officer present, except for brief intervals of absence from the Division.
- \*\*Major Generals Cronkhite and Sturgis were the only assigned Division Commanders.
- (a) Assigned to command of 80th Division Aug. 23, 1917.
- (b) Appointed Major General April 30, 1918, and assigned to command of 37th (National Guard) Division.
- (c) Assigned to command of Ninth Army Corps, A.E.F., Nov. 29, 1918; later, to command of Sixth Army Corps, Army of Occupation.
- (d) Assigned to command of 80th Division Nov. 19, 1918.

### CHIEFS OF STAFF

Lt. Col. William H. Waldron (a)	Aug.	27.	1017—Mav	7.	1018
*Col. George R. Spalding	-				
Lt. Col. William H. Waldron					
*Col. George R. Spalding	July	9,	1918—July	14,	1918
Lt. Col. William H. Waldron (b)	. July	15,	1918—Aug.	5,	1918
Col. William H. Waldron	Aug.	6,	1918—Dec.	18,	1918
*Lt. Col. Edmund A. Buchanan (c)	.Dec.	19,	1918—Mar.	14,	1919
Col. William H. Waldron	.Mar	. 15	, 1919—June	ē 5,	1919

# \*Acting Chief of Staff.

- (a) Assigned as Chief of Staff, 80th Division, Aug. 18, 1917.
- (b) Appointed Colonel Aug. 5, 1918.
- (c) Commanded 159th Infantry Brigade from Oct. 9 to Oct. 23, 1917.

### BRIGADE COMMANDERS

### 159th Infantry Brigade:

†Brig. Gen. Charles S. Farnsworth (a)Aug. 27, 1917—Apr. 29, 1918	}
Brig. Gen. Charles S. Farnsworth (d)	,
†Brig. Gen. George H. Jamerson	,
Lt. Col. Edmund A. Buchanan (c)Oct. 9, 1918—Oct. 23, 1918	,
Maj. Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite (d)Oct. 23, 1918—Nov. 21, 1918	i
Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis (d)	
*Brig. Gen. George H. JamersonNov. 28, 1918—Mar. 15, 1919	j
Col. George D. Freeman, Jr. (e)	)

- \*March 26, 1919, date of relief supplied by Gen. Jamerson.
- †Gens. Farnsworth and Jamerson were the only assigned Brigade Commanders.
- (a) Assigned as Brigade Commander Aug. 24, 1917.
- (b) Appointed Major General April 30, 1918.
- (c) As senior officer, commanded Brigade from Oct. 9 to Oct. 23, 1918; as Brigade Adjutant, administered all affairs of the Brigade from Oct. 24 to Nov. 28, 1918.
- (d) Exercised command of Brigade through Lt. Col. Edmund A. Buchanan, Brigade Adjutant.
- (e) Temporary Brigade Commander.

### 160th Infantry Brigade:

*Col. Frank S. Cocheu	
†Brig. Gen. Lloyd M. Brett (a)	Sept. 19, 1917—Dec. 27, 1917
*Col. Frank S. Cocheu	Dec. 27, 1917—Jan. 13, 1918
Brig. Gen. Lloyd M. Brett	Jan. 14, 1918—Feb. 14, 1919
*Col. James M. Love, Jr	Feb. 15, 1919—Mar. 2, 1919
Brig. Gen. Lloyd M. Brett	Mar. 3, 1919—June 2, 1919

<sup>\*</sup>Acting Brigade Commander.

- †General Brett was the only assigned Brigade Commander.
- (a) Assigned as Brigade Commander Sept. 26, 1917.

### 155th Field Artillery Brigade

†Brig. Gen. Gordon G. Heiner	Aug 27 1017-Dec 22 1017
. 3	
*Col. Charles D. Herron	.Dec. 23, 1917—Dec. 25, 1917
†Brig. Gen. Gordon G. Heiner	Dec. 26, 1917—Jan. 19, 1918
*Col. Charles D. Herron	.Jan. 20, 1918—Jan. 21, 1918
†Brig. Gen. Gordon G. Heiner	.Jan. 22, 1918—Aug. 17, 1918
*Col. Robert S. Welsh	.Aug. 18, 1918.
†Brig. Gen. Gordon G. Heiner	Aug. 19, 1918—Oct. 10, 1918
*Col. Robert S. Welsh (a)	Oct. 11, 1918—Nov. 5, 1918
*Col. William Tidball	.Nov. 5, 1918—Nov. 8, 1918
†Brig. Gen. James H. Bryson	Nov. 9, 1918—June 1, 1919
AL D. 1 . C 1	

\*Acting Brigade Commanders.

†Generals Heiner and Bryson were the only assigned Brigade Commanders.

(a) Colonel Welsh, who assumed command of the Brigade upon the relief of General Heiner, was killed in action Nov. 5, 1918.

### BATTLE PARTICIPATION OF EIGHTIETH DIVISION

(Prepared by Battle Participation Board.) (General Staff, United States Army)

The units of the 80th Division are officially entitled to the following credits for battle participation while serving with the American Expeditionary Forces in France:

Picardy-July 24 to August 18, 1918, 319th Infantry. 320th Infantry. 317th Infantry. 313th Machine Gun Battalion. Picardy-July 28 to August 18, 1918. 314th Machine Gun Battalion. 319th Infantry. 318th Infantry. 315th Machine Gun Battalion. 320th Infantry. 305th Engineers. 305th Engineers. 305th Engineer Train. 305th Engineer Train. 305th Field Signal Battalion. 305th Sanitary Train. 305th Trains Headquarters and Mili-305th Motor Supply Train. 305th Field Signal Battalion. tary Police. St. Mihiel-September 13 to 14, 1918. 305th Trains Headquarters and Military Police. 320th Infantry. Meuse-Argonne-October 23 to Novem-315th Machine Gun Battalion. Lorraine-September 23 to 25, 1918. ber 8, 1918. 317th Infantry. 319th Infantry. 320th Infantry. 318th Infantry. 315th Machine Gun Battalion. 319th Infantry. 320th Infantry. Meuse-Argonne-September 26 to No-313th Machine Gun Battalion. vember 11, 1918. 314th Machine Gun Battalion. 313th Field Artillery. 315th Machine Gun Battalion. 314th Field Artillery. 305th Engineers. 305th Engineer Train. 315th Field Artillery. 305th Trench Mortar Battery. 305th Sanitary Train. 305th Motor Supply Train. 305th Ammunition Train. 305th Field Signal Battalion. Meuse-Argonne-September 26 to Octo-305th Trains Headquarters and Miliber 13, 1918. 317th Infantry. 318th Infantry. tary Police.

### **EXPLANATORY NOTES**

### PICARDY

The 80th Division entered the Picardy section for purposes of instruction and training. As a unit, it did not hold a section of the front line, nor was it responsible for the defense of any portion of its line. Its units, therefore, receive credit for only that time during which they, themselves, as units, held a section of the front line and were responsible for its defense.

The training period of the Division was divided into three phases. The first phase consisted of the detail of individuals to the front line; the second, of the detail of platoons to the front line; and the third, of battalions. Only for that time which the battalions were in the front line is credit given.

The four infantry regiments of the Division are, accordingly, entitled to front line credit from the time their battalions took over sections of the front line. The regiments of the 160th Infantry Brigade, which were attached to the Third British Army, Sixth Corps, are entitled to such credit from July 28 to August 18, 1918. In the 159th Infantry Brigade, serving with the Third British Army, Fifth Corps, the 318th Infantry has the same period of service, but the 317th Infantry receives credit from July 24, the date its first battalions entered the line.

The Machine Gun Battalions did not progress beyond platoon training, the largest unit any of them ever had in the line at one time being a company. They, therefore, are not entitled to credit for service in this sector.

The Trains Headquarters and Military Police, Field Signal Battalion and Engineers, the only other elements of the Division present as units in this sector, are entitled to credit for the time they served troops in the front line, which was from July 28 to August 18, 1918.

### St. MIHIEL

F. O. No. 3, Headquarters 1st Army, August 27, 1918, ordered the 80th Division to the Chatillon-sur-Seine area, which was in the vicinity of St. Mihiel. F. O. No. 9, Headquarters 1st Army, announced the St. Mihiel attack. Paragraph 2 assigned the 80th Division, along with the 91st and 33rd, to Army Reserve. No other 1st Army orders take the Division as a whole out of Army Reserve.

By Paragraph D (b), F. O. No. 10, Headquarters 1st Army, September 12, 1918, one regiment of the 80th Division was assigned to reënforce the 2nd Division Colonial French. F. O. No. 9, Headquarters 80th Division, in compliance with this order, assigned the 320th Infantry and the 315th Machine Gun Battalion to the 2nd Corps Colonial French. The 2nd Corps Colonial French, by OP. 809, September 12, 1918, ordered the 320th Infantry and the 315th Machine Gun Battalion to reënforce the 2nd Division Colonial French, and ordered these troops to Woimby. In compliance with this order and F. O. No. 9, Headquarters 80th Division, the Regiment and Machine Gun Battalion reached Woimby September 13, 1918, and left there for Deuxmonde aux Boix\*the same day. In compliance with Secret Memorandum, Headquarters 80th Division, September 13, 1918, it returned to the area of the 80th Division September 14, 1918. The 80th Division was ordered out of the area by S. O. No. 185, Headquarters 1st Army, September 14, 1918.

### MEUSE-ARGONNE

The 80th Division moved into the front line in the Meuse-Argonne in the early morning of September 26, 1918. Prior to that time, it was immediately in the rear of the sector held by the 79th and 33rd Divisions.

The 160th Infantry Brigade, however, was ordered by Operations Memorandum No. 1, Headquarters 80th Division, September 22, 1918, to move into a part of the area occupied by the 33rd Division, and the Commanding General was instructed that upon the completion of the move, he would be under the tactical direction of the Commanding General, 33rd Division. The 33rd Division at that time occupied a sector in the front line, and the units of this brigade (160th) are, accordingly, entitled to front line service from the time they reached the designated sector (September 23, 1918), to the beginning of the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

The 80th Division was withdrawn from the front line and assigned to Corps Reserve on September 29, 1918. The 318th Infantry, however, continued in the line under attachment to the 4th Division. The 80th Division again entered the front line on October 4, 1918, where it remained until October 13, 1918, when it was withdrawn and assigned to Army Reserve. It entered the offensive again on October 23, 1918, as Corps Reserve, 1st Corps, and served in the front line from October 31 to November 6, 1918, when it was again withdrawn and assigned to Army Reserve on November 8, 1918.

### SYNOPSIS OF OPERATIONS OF THE 80TH DIVISION

### I. OPERATIONS WITH THE BRITISH

Date of entry—July 24 and 28, 1918. (317th Inf. from July 24, 1918; other units from July 28, 1918.)

Place-Aveluy Woods, inclusive, on right, to Arras, inclusive, on left.

Sector—Artois Front. (While occupying this sector units of the Division were attached to the British IVth, Vth and VIth Corps.)

Condition—From quiet to active.

Date of withdrawal—August 18, 1918.

Attached Artillery Brigades-None.

### II. REDUCTION OF ST. MIHIEL SALIENT

Date of entry—September 13, 1918. (320th Inf. and 315th M. G. Bn.)

Place—Deuxmonde-aux-Boix.

Sector—St. Mihiel Salient. (The above indicated units of the Division were attached to the IInd Corps Colonial French as an assisting force to the 2nd (French) Cavalry Division. They followed up the advance of the attacking troops, but took no active part as a front-line unit.)

Condition—Active.

Date of withdrawal—September 14, 1918.

Attached Artillery Brigades-None.

### III. MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE: IST PHASE

\* Date of entry—September 23 and 26, 1918.

Place-Bethincourt.

Sector—Right, east Limit: Baleycourt (incl.)—east edge Bois des Sartelles to neck at 3039—Fromerville (incl.)—Germonville (incl.)—Chattancourt (incl.)—Passarelle du Bon (incl.)—Woods at 8379 (exc.) Gercourt et Drillancourt (excl.)—Tr. du Bois Jure (along the eastern edge of Bois Jure (excl.)—Tr. du Bois Rond (excl.)—Latterie de Belhame (excl.).

Left, west Limit: Cross roads 1 km. N. W. of Nixeville—west corner of Bois Bourrus at 9579—fork of water course at 7823—bend in Rau de Forges at 6552—Tr. Montante (incl.)—Cote 262 (incl.)—Cote 281 (4729)—Brieulles sur Meuse (excl.).

Condition—Active. Date of withdrawal—September 29, 1918.

Attached Artillery Brigades—155th Field Artillery Brigade.

### MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE: 2ND PHASE

Date of entry—October 4, 1918.

Place-Nantillois.

Sector—Right, east Limit: Cuisy (excl.)—Septsarges (excl.) Cote 295 (2500)-(1632)
Road (1535 to 1242)—Road (1342 to 1048)—western border Bois de Foret Cote 299
(la Mi. Noel)—Aincreville (incl.)—Fme. de Reme (incl.)—Villers-devant-Dun (incl.).

Left, west Limit: Malancourt (incl.)—Fayel Fme. (incl.) road fork 500 m. north of Montfaucon (1586) (incl.)—Nantillois-Cunel.

Condition—Active.

Date of withdrawal—October 12, 1918.

Attached Artillery Brigades-155th Field Artillery Brigade.

### MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE: 3RD PHASE

Date of entry-November 1, 1918.

Place-St. Juvin.

Sector—(Nov. 1-2) Right, east Limit: Vauquois (incl.)—Cheppy (excl.)—Charpentry (incl.) Baulay (incl.) Exermont (excl.) Fleville (incl.) Sommerance (excl.) St. Georges (excl.) thence along 300th Meridian to ridge just north of Imecourt thence northeast along ridge between Bayonville and Sivry lez Buzancy, Fosse (excl.) Vaux en Dieulet (incl.).

Left, west Limit: Apremont (incl.) Chatel Chehery (excl.) Cornay (excl.) Meridian 298 from the Aire River to the western edge of Buzancy, thence north to St. Pierremont (excl.).

(Nov. 3-6) Right, east Limit: Sivry lez Buzancy (incl.) Buzancy (incl.)—9780-0800-Vaux en Dieulet (incl.) 2020-Beaumont (excl.).

Left, west Limit: Thenorgues (excl.)—Harricourt (incl.) 6780-6990-Frontency (exl.)—7200-8020-La Polka Farm (incl.)—Yoncq (incl.).

Condition—Active.

Date of withdrawal—November 6, 1918.

Attached Artillery Brigades—157th Field Artillery Brigade.

\*The 160th Infantry Brigade is credited with front line service from the date its units reached their designated sector (September 23, 1918). All other elements of the Division are officially assumed to have entered the area of active operations at the beginning of the Meuse-Argonne Offensive (September 26, 1918).

### SUMMARY OF BATTLE CASUALTIES

# (By Offensives)

	Officers	Men	Total
Artois Front *—(Defensive Sector)		420	427
St. Mihiel—(Corps Reserve)			
Meuse-Argonne †—(1st Phase)	. 27	1,037	1,064
Meuse-Argonne—(2nd Phase)	. 139	3,412	3,551
Meuse-Argonne—(3rd Phase)	• 44	1,015	1,059
Total	. 210	5,454	6,101

<sup>\*</sup>Losses as given by G-3 Division Historical Charts, G. H. Q., A. E. F.

<sup>†</sup>Casualties for Meuse-Argonne Offensive as announced in "Report on Operations, 80th Division, A. E. F., France, 22 November, 1918."

# GRAVES LOCATION OF EIGHTIETH DIVISION'S DEAD

(Killed or Died Overseas Showing Country or Place of Final Interment)

Foreign Cemetery

Unit	Returned to U. S.	Romagne	Thiaucourt	Seringes	Belleau	Suresnes	Bony	Graves Unknown	Undisturbed	Undetermined	Shipped Foreign
Division Hdqrs	2		• •	• •	• •	I		• •			
Hdqrs. Troop	4		• •		• •			• •		• •	
305th Trn. and M. P	3		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	
80th M. P. Co	4	• • •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	
305th Sup. Trn	4		3	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• • • • • • • •
305th San. Trn	14	5	• •	I		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	
305th Am. Trn	14	9	4	• •		• •	I	• •		• •	
305th Engrs	24	8	3	I	• •	I	• •	• •	• •	• •	
305th Engr. Trn	• • •	1	I	• •	• •	• •					
305th F. S. Bn	4	2	2	• •	• •	• •	I		• •	• •	
Hdqrs. 159th Inf. Brg.	I	• • •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• • • • • • • • •
313th M. G. Bn	17	9	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	5		• •	
317th Inf	130	50	2	I	• •	• •	4	6			Italy I
318th Inf	136	65	6	2	2	• •	4	3	I		ItalyI
319th Inf	193	123	9	2	I	3	1	13	••	; {	Sweden. I Italy 6 Poland . I Canada. I
320th Inf	229	142	4	••	3	• •	5	8	• •	1 {	Italy4 Ireland .1
315th M. G. Bn	13	12	I		1	• •				• •	
314th M. G. Bn	8	4	2	• •	• •					• •	
Hdqrs. 155th Art. Brg.	I	1			• •						
313th F. A	36	12	3	• •	• •	3		• •		• •	
314th F. A	28	10	• •					I	I		
315th F. A	24	11	9	2		2	• •				Italy1
305th T. M. Btry	I	I	• •		• •			• •			
			-	_	_	_	****	_		_	
Totals	890	465	49	9	7	10	16	36	2	1	17

(Compiled from the official records Graves Registration Service, U. S. Army.)

### PRISONERS TAKEN BY DIVISION

(By Offensives)

	Officers	Men	Total
Artois Front (Defensive Sector)—July 23 to Aug. 18, 1918			
St. Mihiel (Army Reserve)—Sept. 12 to Sept. 14, 1918			
Meuse-Argonne (1st Phase)—Sept. 26 to Sept 29, 1918	35	815	850
Meuse-Argonne (2nd Phase)—Oct. 4 to Oct. 12, 1918	. 30	102	132
(Including two entire Battalion Staffs)			
Meuse-Argonne (3rd Phase)—Nov. 1 to Nov. 6, 1918	38	793	831
(Including one entire Battalion Staff)			
Total	. 103	1,710	1,813

# KILOMETERS GAINED BY DIVISION

(By Offensives)

Artois Front (Defensive Sector)—July 23 to Aug. 18, 1918	1,700 yards
Titols Front (Detensive Dector)—July 23 to riug. 10, 1910	1,700 yarus
St. Mihiel (Army Reserve)—Sept. 12 to Sept. 14, 1918	No advance
Meuse-Argonne (1st Phase)—Sept. 26 to Sept. 29, 1918	9 kilometers
Meuse-Argonne (2nd Phase)—Oct. 4 to Oct. 12, 1918	4 kilometers
Meuse-Argonne (3rd Phase)—Nov. 1 to Nov. 6, 1918	24 kilometers
Total *	37 kilometers

(\* Total does not include advance credited to Division on Artois Front.)

# EIGHTIETH DIVISION PERSONNEL TAKEN PRISONER BY THE ENEMY IN ACTION

Organization	Officers	Enlisted Men
317th Infantry		3*
318th Infantry		4*.
319th Infantry		92*
320th Infantry	. I	3
Total	. r	102

(\* Including one man who died in the hands of the enemy.)

# ENEMY MATERIAL CAPTURED BY DIVISION

(By Operations)

ARTOIS FRO	NT (Defensive	Sector)Nor	ıe
ST. MIHIEL	(Army Reserv	e)Nor	10

414	FILISDORGII OF TODAT
Meus	e-Argonne—Sept. 26-29, 1918*—(1st Phase)
	Heavy Artillery       1 38-c.m. Howitzer         Light Artillery       5 105-m.m. Guns         Light Artillery       10 77-m.m. Guns         Trench Mortars       7 Minenwerfers         Machine Guns       77         Rifles       537         Grenades       5,025 Boxes         S. A. Ammunition       5,005,000 Rounds
Meus	E-Argonne—Oct. 4-12, 1918—(2nd Phase)
	Heavy Artillery 1 6-in. Howitzer Heavy Artillery 4 155-m.m. Guns Light Artillery 10 77-m.m. Guns Light Artillery 2 77-m.m. Anti-aircraft Trench Mortars 6 Minenwerfers Machine Guns 22 Rifles (Not counted) Ammunition (77-m.m.) 1,500 Rounds S. A. Ammunition (Not counted)
Meus	E-Argonne—Nov. 1-6, 1918†—(3rd Phase)
Total	Heavy Artillery       2 210-m.m. Guns         Heavy Artillery       3 155-m.m. Guns         Light Artillery       6 105-m.m. Guns         Light Artillery       44 77-m.m. Guns         Trench Mortars       22 Minenwerfers         Machine Guns       .238 Light         Machine Guns       .269 Light         Rifles       .8 Anti-tank         Rifles       .1,160         Ammunition (155-m.m.)       1,500 Rounds         Ammunition (77-m.m.)       80,000 Rounds         S. A. Ammunition       1,150,000 Rounds
	Heavy Artillery 11 Pieces
	Light Artillery       77 Pieces         Trench Mortars       35 Pieces         Machine Guns       606 Pieces         Rifles       1,705 Pieces         Grenades       5,025 Boxes         Ammunition (Artillery)       99,000 Rounds         S. A. Ammunition       6,155,000 Rounds

<sup>(\*</sup> Material does not include contents of large dump taken near Vilosnes.)

<sup>(†</sup> Large quantity of miscellaneous Ordnance and Q. M. stores not included.)

# KNOWN ENEMY UNITS OPPOSED TO THE EIGHTIETH DIVISION IN THE MEUSE-ARGONNE OPERATIONS\*

1910)
4-12,
October
and
56-29
September
Phases:
Second
and
irst

Lo Bethinc Dannevoux, B	Oct. 12, 1918  South of Cunel Bois de Fay and Southeast of Cunel Vicinity of Cunel Vicinity of Cunel Woods just East of Cunel	Vicinity of Imecourt Vicinity of Imecourt Vicinity of Buzancy Vicinity of Buzancy Retreat North of St. Juvin and Champigneull Vicinity of Beaumont
G-2, A.E.F. Rating Dates Engaged 2nd Class Sept. 26-28, 1918 2nd Class Sept. 26, 1918, to Oct. 12, 1918	3rd Class       Sept. 29, 1918, to Oct. 12, 1918         1st Class (b) Oct. 6-12, 1918       Bois de Bois de Bois de Bois Class         3rd Class (c) Oct. 11-12, 1918         3rd Class (c) Oct. 11-12, 1918	Third Phase: November 1-6, 1918  3rd Class Nov. 1-6, 1918  3rd Class Nov. 1-6, 1918  1st Class (d) Nov. 1-6, 1918  3rd Class Nov. 1-6, 1918  3rd Class Nov. 4-6, 1918
Enemy Division Regiments Engaged G 7th Reserve36th, 66th, 72nd 5th Bavarian Res7th, 19th, 21st	236th German (a)	3oth, 31st, 32nd 7oth, 166th, 174th 111th, 169th, 170th 459th, 470th, 471st

\* Data based upon Order of Battle Maps, prepared by G-2, A.E.F., records of interrogation of prisoners, Battle of the Meuse-Argonne,

by Major Herman von Giehrl.

(a) German Army, and Histories of 251 German Divisions, by Intelligence Section, A.E.F.

(a) The 80th was twice confronted by the 236th German Division. Although rated as a 3rd Class unit, its record shows that "it distinguished itself particularly, fighting stubbornly and successfully for days in succession."

(b) The 28th Reserve Division was rated "as one of the best of the German divisions."

October 25. While it did not win special merit for its defense, it fought persistently and was quick to take every advantage of the terrain." (c) "The 123rd Saxon Division was engaged in almost continuous fighting without any major attack, until it was withdrawn on

(d) The 52nd was rated "as one of the best German divisions." (?) Presumed.

CORPS AND ARMY ASSIGNMENTS OF THE EIGHTIETH DIVISION

Period of Service	June 10—July 3, 1918 July 4—Aug. 19, 1918	Aug. 20—Aug. 27, 1918 Aug. 27—Sept. 6, 1918 Sept. 7—Sept. 14, 1918 Sept. 14—Sept. 17, 1918 Sept. 17—Sept. 29, 1918 Sept. 29—Oct. 3, 1918 Oct. 33—Oct. 12, 1918 Oct. 22—Oct. 30, 1918 Oct. 22—Oct. 30, 1918 Nov. 8—Nov. 12, 1918 Nov. 8—Nov. 12, 1918	Nov. 21, '18—Mar. 20, 1919
Army		<del>(</del> <del>)</del>	
FRENCH Corps and		II. Colonial	Division passed under control of Comdg. Gen., S. O. S.
Army	II. (b)		of Comdg
BRITISH			control c
Corps	V. V.		 
Army		I. Reserve I. Reserve I. Reserve I. Reserve	r. vision pas
AMERICAN			
AM	II. (a) II.	VI. V. V. III. (Attach.) IIII. Reserve III. Reserve III. Reserve III. Reserve III. Reserve III. Reserve III. Reserve	i
Date Assigned	June 7, 1918 July 1, 1918	Aug. 20, 1918 Aug. 27, 1918 Sept. 6, 1918 Sept. 14, 1918 Sept. 17, 1918 Sept. 29, 1918 Oct. 3, 1918 Oct. 13, 1918 Oct. 22, 1918 Oct. 30, 1918 Nov. 8, 1918	21, 20,

(a) Assigned to II. American Corps for administrative purposes.

Attached to British 1st Army (116th Brigade and 16th and 34th Divisions) for training. (9)

<sup>(</sup>c) Infantry Regiments attached to British 3rd Army (4th, 5th and 6th Corps) for training.

(d) Assigned as Reserve Division for the sector of the II. French Colonial Corps, the 32oth Inf., and 315th M. G. Bn., reënforcing 2nd Dismounted Cavalry Division in St. Mihiel operations.

# COMMAND AND STAFF OF THE EIGHTIETH DIVISION IN THE ST. MIHIEL AND MEUSE-ARGONNE OPERATIONS

(September 12-14, 1918; September 26 to November 11, 1918)

# 80TH DIVISION

	OUTH DIVISION	
Commanding:	Major General Adelbert Cronkhit	te
Chief of Staff:	Colonel William H. Waldron	
G-I	Lt. Col. Sherburne Whipple	
G-2	Major Powell Nolan	
		(until Sont of TOTO)
G-3	Major Harry S. Gillespie	(until Sept. 25, 1918)
	Lt. Col. John B. Barnes	(after Sept. 25, 1918)
	159TH INFANTRY BRIGADE	
Commanding:	Brig. Gen. George H. Jamerson	(until Oct. 9, 1918)
	Lt. Col. Edmund A. Buchanan	(Oct. 9-23, 1918)
	Maj. Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite	(after October 23, 1918)
C. O. 317th Infantry	Colonel Howard R. Perry	(until Oct. 11, 1918) *
o. o. 91, mr	Lt. Col. Charles Keller	(after Oct. 11, 1918) *
C. O. 318th Infantry	Colonel Ulysses G. Worrilow	(until Oct. 11, 1918) 1
C. O. Stom Intainty	Lt. Col. Charles L. Mitchell (Ac	ting) (Oct. 11-29, 1918) *
	Col. Harry C. Jones	(after Oct. 29, 1918)
C.O. anath. M. C. Pm	Major Prescott Huidekoper	(arter Oct. 29, 1918)
C. O. 313th M. G. Bn.	Major Frescott Huidekopei	
	160TH INFANTRY BRIGADE	9
Commanding:	Brig. Gen. Lloyd M. Brett	
C. O. 319th Infantry	Colonel Frank S. Cocheu	(until Oct. 2, 1918)
C. O. 319th Illiantry	Colonel James M. Love, Jr.	(after Oct. 2, 1918)
C O south Inforture	Colonel Ephraim G. Peyton	(arter Oct. 2, 1910)
C. O. 320th Infantry		
C. O. 315th M. G. Bn.	Major Leland B. Garretson	
	155TH FIELD ARTILLERY BRIGAD	DE
Commanding:	Brig. Gen. Gordon G. Heiner	(until Oct. 10, 1918)
	Colonel Robert S. Welsh	(Oct. 11 to Nov. 5, 1918)
	Colonel William Tidball	(Nov. 5 to Nov. 8, 1918)
	Brig. Gen. James H. Bryson	(after Nov. 8, 1918)
C. O. 313th F. A.	Colonel Charles J. Ferris	(until Sept. 17, 1918)
	Lt. Col. Otto L. Brunzell	(after Sept. 17, 1918)
	(Appointed Col. Sept. 25, 1918)	
C. O. 314th F. A.	Colonel Robert S. Welsh	(until Oct. 11, 1918)
O. O. 31401 1 . 1	Lt. Col. James F. Walker	(after Oct. 11, 1918)
C. O. 315th F. A.	Colonel John C. Goodfellow	(until Sept. 28, 1918)
C. O. 315th F. 21.	Major Lloyd C. Stark	(Sept. 28, 1918)
		1 2 7
· ·	Colonel William Tidball	(Sept. 28 to Nov. 5, 1918)
	Major Lloyd C. Stark	(Nov. 5 to Nov. 9, 1918)
C O - 41 M 35 D	Colonel William Tidball	(after Nov. 9, 1918)
C. O. 305th T. M. Bty.	Captain Paul B. Barringer	(until Nov. 7, 1918)
	Captain Harold N. Scott	(after Nov. 7, 1918)
C. O. 305th Am. Trn.	Major Orlo C. Whitaker	(until Oct. 9, 1918)
(attached)	(Appointed Lt. Col. Oct. 1, 1918	3)
	Lt. Col. John C. Fairfax	(after Oct. 9, 1918)
* Date in doubt.		

C. O. 314th M. G. Bn. C. O. 305th Engrs.	Major Robert H. Cox Colonel George R. Spalding Major George W. Knight Colonel Harry Burgess	(until Oct. 2, 1918) (Oct 2 to Oct. 4, 1918) (Oct. 5 to Nov. 6, 1918)
	Lt. Col. George W. Knight	(after Nov. 6, 1918)
C. O. 305th F. S. Bn.	Major Thomas I. King	
C. O. 305th Sup. Trn.	Major J. W. O'Mahoney	(Sept. 3, 1918)
C. O. 305th San. Trn.	Lt. Col. Elliott B. Edie	
C. O. 305th Eng. Trn.	2nd Lt. Herman Maier	(until Oct. 2, 1918)
	1st Lt. E. M. Stuart	(Oct. 2 to Nov. 6, 1918)
	1st Lt. Edward Sinclair	(after Nov. 6, 1918)
C. O. 305th Tr. Hq. & M. P.	†	(after Nov. 6, 1918)
C. O. 305th Mob. Vet.	1st Lt. M. Donahoe	(until Oct. 23, 1918)
Sec.	1st Lt. James A. Weigen	(after Oct. 23, 1918)
C. O. 305th Mob.		
Ord. Rep. Shp.	1st Lt. Fred A. Reese	
† Unknown.		

# NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF EIGHTIETH DIVISION FROM MONTHLY RETURNS—PRESENT AND PAST

Date	Officers	Enl. Men	Aggregate
1917—			
September 30 (a)	851	16,041	16,892
October 31	804	22,383	23,187
November 30 (b)	870	22,373	23,243
December 31 (c)	989	18,236	19,225(d)
1918—		•	
January 31 (e)	. 903	16,414	17,317
February 28 (e)	880	17,961	18,941
March 31 (f)	919	17,546	18,465
April 30	971	26,238	27,209
May 31 (g)	925	25,926	26,851
June 30 (h)	583	18,186	18,769
July 31	872	24,396	25,268
August 28	912	25,329	26,241
September 25	. 902	25,309	26,211
October 30 (i)	849	24,013	24,862
November 27	837	26,695	27,532
December 31	864	25,932	26,796
1919—			
January 31	922	25,994	26,916
February 28	. 920	26,065	26,985
March 31	888	25,341	26,229
April 30	832	25,307	26,139
May 31	778	23,156	23,934

# EXPLANATION

<sup>(</sup>a) Enlisted personnel of Division incomplete this month, strength of command having not been fully recruited.

# STRENGTH OF EIGHTIETH DIVISION UPON EMBARKATION AND ARRIVAL OVERSEAS

Organization	Date Embark.	Officers	Enl. Men	Total
Headquarters 80th Division	5-22-18	26	65	QI
Headquarters Troop		3	124	127
305th Trn. Hdgrs. and M. P		10	306	316
305th Supply Train		15		495
	(r-26-18)	- 5		475
305th Ammunition Train	6- 6-18	37	1,219	1,256
305th Mob. Ord. Rep. Shop		3	44	47
305th Engineer Train		2	77	79
305th Sanitary Train-				
Amb. Cos. Nos. 317, 318, 319, 320	5-26-18	19	511	530
Field Hospital Nos. 317, 318, 319, 320	5-26-18	23	337	360
314th Machine Gun Battalion	5-26-18	17	369	386
305th Engineers	5-26-18	51	1,550	1,601
305th Field Signal Battalion	5-26-18	15	480	495
Headquarters 159th Infantry Brigade	5-26-18	6	23	29
317th Infantry	5-26-18	107	3,408	3,515
318th Infantry		108	3,547	3,655
313th Machine Gun Battalion		29	737	766
Headquarters 160th Infantry Brigade		5	20	25
319th Infantry	5-17-18	***	3,600	0.070
319th Infantry		101	3,009	3,710
320th Infantry		772	3,654	3,767
320th Infantry	- ,	113	3,054	
315th Machine Gun Battalion		27	659	686
Headquarters 155th Field Artillery Brigade		9	54	63
313th Field Artillery		59	1,486	1,545
314th Field Artillery		64	1,482	1,546
315th Field Artillery		71	1,554	1,625
315th Field Artillery		·		
305th Trench Mortar Battery	5-26-18	5	158	163
Total (		925	25,926	26,851

# CHAPLAINS WITH EIGHTIETH DIVISION \*

Division Headquarters	1st Lt. Benjamin D. Hanscom
Captain Arthur H. Brown ** †	1st Lt. Milton L. Clemens †
1st Lt. William Couden	1st Lt. Francis J. Martin†
	1st Lt. Urban W. Lager
317TH INFANTRY REGIMENT	1st Lt. Fred R. Hill †
1st Lt. Edward A. Wallace †	1st Lt. Hugh W. Rendall†
ret I t Andrew C Aston	

<sup>\*</sup>Compiled from the official records of the Adjutant General's Office.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Senior Chaplain of the Division.

<sup>†</sup> Indicates Chaplains who were transferred from one organization to another within the Division.

### CHAPLAINS WITH EIGHTIETH DIVISION (Continued)

315TH MACHINE GUN BATTALION 318TH INFANTRY REGIMENT 1st Lt. James R. Quisenberry † 1st Lt. Arthur H. Brown † 1st Lt. Reinhold E. Zachert 313TH FIELD ARTILLERY REGIMENT 1st Lt. Frank C. Riley 1st Lt. Gladstone H. Yeuell 1st Lt. James D. Kenny 1st Lt. Fred R. Hill †

314TH FIELD ARTILLERY REGIMENT 310TH INFANTRY REGIMENT 1st Lt. J. Emmett Porter Captain William Byrd Lee 1st Lt. Thomas H. Saunders 1st Lt. Henry W. Churchill 1st Lt. Aloysius C. Sutter 1st Lt. Milton L. Clemens † 1st Lt. Edgar W. Anderson 1st Lt. James R. Laughton † 1st Lt. James R. Laughton † 1st Lt. Louis A. Pelletier

315TH FIELD ARTILLERY REGIMENT 320TH INFANTRY REGIMENT 1st Lt. John A. MacLean, Jr. 1st Lt. Hugh W. Rendall † 1st Lt. James R. Quisenberry † 1st Lt. Edward A. Wallace † 1st Lt. Theodore Beck 1st Lt. George R. Heim† 305TH REGIMENT ENGINEERS

1st Lt. Milton L. Clemens † 1st Lt. Francis J. Martin† 305TH FIELD SIGNAL BATTALION 313TH MACHINE GUN BATTALION 1st Lt. John O. Sherlock

1st Lt. Luther W. Clark

314TH MACHINE GUN BATTALION 305TH SANITARY TRAIN 1st Lt. James R. Laughton † 1st Lt. George R. Heim † 1st Lt. J. B. White

1st Lt. Thomas B. Roche

Pittsburgh sent to the Flying forces of its own and the Allied Governments over 500 of its prominent young men, many of whom won lasting fame for themselves and the community. It is said that Pittsburgh sent to the air service overseas more men than any other American city except New York.

The best known of the Pittsburgh aviators was, of course, Lieutenant (now Major) William Thaw, who was a member of the famous Lafayette Escadrille.

Long before the war broke out, William Thaw and his younger brother, Alexander Blair Thaw, had devoted themselves to a study of aviation, and Alexander had invented an automatic stabilizer for heavier-than-air-flying machines. With their family they had gone to Europe in the spring of 1914. taking with them a 100-horsepower Curtiss hydro-airplane on which their stabilizer had been installed, their intention being to enter a contest proposed by the French Government.

When the war broke out William Thaw enlisted in August with 121 other Americans in a volunteer foreign legion organized by Herges Cazmeze, a naturalized American, in Paris. Thaw gave as his reason for enlisting his "love for France and hatred for Germany."

These foreign volunteers were accepted, and Thaw was assigned to the Second Regiment of Foreign Volunteers as a private soldier. He was soon promoted to first class soldier and in November was tried out for the aviation corps, for which he was accepted as pilot.

Thaw was already an expert air man, having in 1913 made a record of 90 miles in 52 minutes, in his flight sending his plane under four bridges over the East River in New York City without touching water.

The first thrilling experience the Pittsburgh boy had as an army aviator was in June, 1915, when a plane in which he was reconnoitering over the German lines was struck by a shell from an anti-aircraft gun and the tail shattered. With his plane helpless, Thaw slanted his machine and volplaned downward, landing within the French lines. On several occasions he penetrated 40 and 50 miles behind the German lines taking photographs. On one occasion he secured photographs of bursting shells—shells which had been fired at him. He was decorated for his bravery by the French Government.

In August, 1915, Thaw received his third citation for bravery in the orders of the day, and by a general commanding a division of the French army was complimented on strategy shown under heavy fire. The action cited was when he and a lieutenant observer had been assigned to the dangerous work of locating and observing German batteries. Thaw was fired on by the Germans and a shell, bursting beneath his machine, carried away a portion of the tail. The machine appeared lost, but righting it Thaw flew through a hot rifle fire and regained the French lines.

Soon after this Thaw was promoted to a lieutenancy, and within two months had a thrilling engagement with five German airmen. He sent one of them to earth after one of his motors had failed him. He was chased to the French lines by the other four planes; but after getting another machine he returned to the German lines and finished his reconnaissance.

In April, 1916, Thaw was placed in command of the All-American Squadron, composed of 14 citizens of the United States. Less than a month later he received the Military Cross with a gold star, which was given as a result of the mention of his name in orders of the day for bravery when, under heavy artillery fire, he directed the French fire by signaling from his airplane.

A few days later while leading the American aviators in an expedition over the German lines, the machine piloted by Thaw lost part of its tail and the propellor was damaged by a shell, but he took the machine safely back to camp.

On May 21, 1916, Lieutenant Thaw won an air duel with a German airman and was cited in army orders for pursuing a raiding German machine

from the camp and continuing the fight at close range until his machine gun jammed.

Pittsburgh's young men of foreign birth or parentage rallied to the call with admirable fervor. The Sons of Serbia as an organization took active part at home in the Liberty Loan campaigns as well as sending many men to the war zone. Pittsburgh Czechoslovaks were a part of the expedition that fought its way to Vladivostok, an expedition said by military officials to have been one of the most intrepid in history.

It is said that one out of every 40 soldiers in the Polish national army was a Pittsburgh man, which probably is true, for the Poles of the city vied with native-born Americans in their efforts to win the war. They, at their own expense, established a great officers' training camp at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, from which men went to France, and their record there reflects much glory on their nation and on the City of Pittsburgh.

In Pittsburgh originated the organization appropriately named, Mothers of Democracy—women who wished to keep in touch with the boys at the front and to aid them in maintaining communication with their loved ones. This group was given a charter by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in November, 1918, although its activities began in the early spring of that year. Mrs. Taylor Allderdice was the first president.

Similar organizations were formed elsewhere immediately after the local one was started, and a convention was held in the East in an effort to consolidate them; but the Pittsburgh women maintained a separate organization which is still in existence.

In addition to the tens of thousands of boys who went to the front, many prominent citizens of Pittsburgh rendered auxiliary service where they could do the most good, and it is possible to list many of them here. It is realized with regret that there are scores of others whose names cannot now be found and who for that reason only are omitted from the list.

W. Earl Bothwell, Field Director U. S. Boys Working Reserve; Special Agent U. S. Employment Service; Manager of Farm Labor, Mercer County. James Francis Burke, Director of War Savings.

John C. Chaplin, Director of War Savings, vice James Francis Burke, resigned.

Rev. Thomas F. Coakley, D.D., Chaplain of One Hundred and Forty-eighth Machine Gun Battalion; later of Forty-seventh Infantry, Fourth Division, at front during American drives; and after Armistice, Chaplain, Headquarters, Army of Occupation, Coblenz, Germany.

J. S. Crutchfield, Vice U. S. Food Administrator for Pennsylvania. Ralph M. Dravo, District Chief, Pittsburgh District Ordnance Department. James F. Edwards, M.D., Lieutenant Colonel, Medical Department, U. S. A.

Robert Garland, Chairman Daylight Saving Committee of U. S. Chamber of Commerce; Chairman Resources Committee, Zone No. 5, coöperating with War Industry Board.

W. D. George, U. S. Food Administrator for Allegheny County.

Galen C. Hartman, Assistant, Legal Advisory Board No. 6; also served with Pennsylvania Council of National Defense and Committee of Public Safety, Allegheny County Division.

Howard Heinz, U. S. Food Administrator for Pennsylvania; later Zone Chairman for Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland and District of Columbia; member of War Industries Board.

Capt. James A. Henderson, Vice Director of Railroads, Electric Railways and Motors, Highways, and Waterways; also served with Pennsylvania Council of National Defense and Committee of Public Safety, Allegheny County Division.

A. L. Humphrey, Industrial Executive, Ordnance Department.

Mrs. Franklin P. Iams, Chairman, Department of Women in Industry. Col. Thomas J. Keenan, Head of Selective Service Association; Chairman District Draft Board; Chairman Board of Instruction.

D. W. Kuhn, Federal Fuel Administrator for Pittsburgh District. Pittsburgh District for coal included the counties of Allegheny, Beaver, Fayette, Greene, Washington and Westmoreland; and for electric current it covered territory from Canton, O., to Altoona, Pa., and from Erie, Pa., to Fairmont, W. Va., inclusive.

Thomas Liggett, Director U. S. Public Service Reserve in Allegheny County. This office had charge of recruiting civilian personnel of Ordnance Department; enlistment of men for Motor Mechanics and Engineering regiments and for other special service in the Army and Navy; registration of men for farm labor; securing men for essential industries; recruiting for the Tank Corps and other Army units; securing men for Motor Transport Division.

Brig. Gen. Albert J. Logan, in command of Fifty-sixth Infantry Brigade from July 5, 1917, to January 30, 1918, when discharged on account of physical disability. Member of Pennsylvania Council of National Defense.

Frank J. Lanahan, Director of Highways Transport Committee of Pennsylvania Council of National Defense, Allegheny County Division.

Dr. S. B. Linhart, Director of the Division of Allied Bodies, Pennsylvania Council of National Defense, Allegheny County Division; also in charge of Business Management, Students Army Training Corps, University of Pittsburgh.

Churchill Mehard, commissioned Major Officers Reserve Corps, April,

1917. After various lines of service he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in October, 1918.

Joseph T. Miller, First Assistant Fuel Administrator for Pittsburgh District. (See D. W. Kuhn.)

E. W. Mudge, Director, Division of Industrial Plants.

Andrew S. McSwigan, Assistant Director of over-seas work of Knights of Columbus.

Col. Charles C. McGovern, in U. S. Secret Service.

Samuel Black McCormick, D.D., LL.D., Director of Allied Bodies and a member of Executive Committee, Public Safety Committee of Pennsylvania.

Andrew W. Mellon, Member: Executive Committee of Council of National Defense of Pennsylvania; War Fund Campaign Committee for Western Pennsylvania; Advisory Committee of National Research Council of Washington, D. C.; National War Work Council of Y. M. C. A.; Chairman of United War Work Financial Campaign for Western Pennsylvania.

A. K. Oliver, Secretary United War Work; Y. M. C. A. Fund Campaign; Liberty Loan campaigns, and other financial activities.

George S. Oliver, Chairman War Industries Board, District No. 5.

William H. Stevenson, Chairman Council of National Defense and Committee of Public Safety for Allegheny County; member of War Industries Board, District No. 5.

While the boys hurried to the front and the mills of the district were working feverishly to fill orders for the munitions that were so badly needed by the Allied Governments, there were hundreds of thousands of Pittsburghers in 1917 and 1918 who anxiously questioned what they could do. They realized that day by day America was drawing closer and closer to active participation in the war, and they longed to be ready to do their "bit" when the time came.

Here and there in the city were small groups of Red Cross workers who never had been called upon for any very serious work, and these began to think ahead. What might be thrust upon them in the near future? What should they do to be prepared?

These inquiries led, in July, 1916, to the formation of the Pittsburgh Chapter, American Red Cross, with a membership of only about 300 members. Efforts to form a worthwhile organization, however, did not meet with much support until February, 1917, when the Assistant Chairman of the National organization visited Pittsburgh and urged a re-organization of the chapter and active preparation for service.

Following his plea the Pittsburgh Chapter was re-organized on February 20th, and officers were elected. None of them had ever had Red Cross experience, but within 48 hours the Chairman had organized a small staff of earnest workers and secured as a donation to the Chapter the use of the



EMSWORTH DAM, OHIO RIVER, NEAR PITTSBURGH

entire lower floor of the old Second National Bank building at Liberty Avenue and Ninth Street. On February 26th the Chairman announced receipt of formal recognition from Washington.

The record of the Chapter states that when war was declared on April 6th, the workers did not know quite what to do, for there was no precedent to guide them. Their own country now needed their services, and Europe was clamoring for supplies of all kinds to heal the wounds of the nations.

There was no adequate organization, but—there was a great need!

Pittsburgh's newspapers came to the aid of the Red Cross workers, and almost overnight an organization was evolved that magnificently functioned in the entire district. In a short time the Pittsburgh Chapter became the parent of many active chapters throughout Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia.

Women's organizations of all kinds in the district besieged headquarters with requests that they be formed as auxiliaries. How, they asked, should they go about the preparation of surgical dressings and hospital garments? What should they do to be of greatest help?

Committees had to be appointed to care for finances, to oversee the preparation of dressings, garments, comfort kits, the packing of boxes, organizing of first-aid classes, securing of materials, etc. Groups had to be formed to confer with applicants for work as nurses—many of them women totally unfitted for the work, who were persuaded to do something else; and other groups then were needed to train them.

During the first weeks names by the thousands were added to the membership of the local Chapter, so that by the end of April, 1917, the enrollment here was greater than in any other city of the United States, even doubling that of New York City; by December the membership numbered 130,000.

When the time came in June, 1917, to raise the first Red Cross war fund, Pittsburgh responded, although the workers were somewhat surprised to learn that in Allegheny County they were expected to raise \$1,000,000. Soon afterward National officials decided that they had not made the quota for the county large enough, and it was raised to \$1,500,000; and finally Pittsburgh workers were notified that they were expected to raise the seemingly stupendous sum of \$3,500,000.

The first step was the decision that wealthy citizens of the county and the various corporations should have a definite amount assigned to them, rather than that each should be allowed to judge what amount should be given.

A dinner was arranged for June 11, 1917, at which 90 prominent citizens were present. Former President William Howard Taft told the guests the uses of the war fund and solicited their contributions. He called their atten-

tion to sealed envelopes at their places, stating that in them would be found named the amount each man or corporation was expected to give. It is recorded that the "quotas" were "not particularly mild." A contemporary account of the dinner says:

"One by one the men opened their envelopes and silently looked at the figures. For a brief space the silence was not broken; and then man after man signified his acceptance of the charge thus laid upon him or his organization. One man announced that he would double the amount assigned to him. After the opening dinner, men's teams visited every business house and industry in the county, following which house-to-house canvassers covered the territory, and when at a final dinner the results were announced it was found that the county had exceeded its quota and had raised \$3,952,732."

The expenses of the campaign were met by private donations. Every dollar of contributed money went to the war fund without deductions.

Purchases of supplies caused much concern until the Union Supply Company offered the free services of its Purchasing Department to the Chapter, after which the Red Cross workers were relieved of much detail in that connection.

Everything from a paper of pins to a million yards of gauze was required, and so numerous were the demands upon the department that the purchasing agent placed two assistants in charge of the work without cost to the Chapter.

The Chapter purchased lumber by the carload for the making of shipping cases, and let it be said to the credit of the convicts in the Western Penitentiary that they voluntarily made the cases as their contribution to the great cause.

An idea of the efficiency of the Chapter may be gained from the recital of an incident that occurred during the influenza epidemic. The hospitals nearly all made heavy requisitions at short notice, and no great comment was made when the Ambridge Institution called at four o'clock on a Sunday afternoon for 100 beds. By midnight trucks loaded with the full equipment were on their way to the hospital. It was so with all demands made on the Chapter. Let us quote from the history of the Chapter:

"From the first of October, 1917, until the Armistice the workroom of the supply service department was regularly open from nine to six o'clock daily except Saturdays and Sundays, and sometimes on those two days, also, in exceptionally busy periods. On certain evenings during the time mentioned the room was open from seven until ten-thirty o'clock.

"The workers wore white garments and worked in silence throughout their hours of service, and at noon daily all paused for silent prayer.

"It was a mighty task that the Purchasing Department faced in its effort to keep the workrooms of the district supplied, and hundreds of thousands of dollars frequently were involved in single purchases. Questions of expediency arose daily—should a certain supply be purchased then, or would it be cheaper tomorrow? Usually at that time the price was higher 'tomorrow'; and to be sure of obtaining essentials at the best prices and in sufficient quantities to have a supply when needed they were sometimes purchased for three months in advance."

To pay for the supplies, the Pittsburgh Chapter was allowed 25 per cent of the money collected in the war-fund campaigns.

One of the greatest needs throughout the period of the war was gauze for surgical dressings which were made with unbelievable rapidity by the Pittsburgh workers. The following is illustrative of what the local women did, it being their assignment for the month of February, 1918:

 21,250 compresses, 8x4
 8,750 shot bags, 3½x4

 12,500 cotton pads, 8x12
 8,750 shot bags, 4x4½

 12,500 cotton pads, 12x24
 2,500 straps and buckles, short

 5,000 gauze rolls, 5 yards long
 2,500 straps and buckles, long

 1,250 newspaper back pads, 16x24
 21,500 gauze wipes, 2x2

 1,250 scultetus bandages
 21,500 gauze wipes, 4x4

The devoted women did not falter at the assignment although the month was a short one with two legal holidays, and it was fortunate that they denied themselves the relaxation of holidays for before the month was over they were called upon to furnish additional supplies consisting of 500 oakum pads, 8x12; 300 oakum pads, 12x24; 400 newspaper back pads, small; 500 many-tailed bandages; 500 pneumonia jackets; 400 heel rings.

Another large requisition was in April, 1918, for front-line packets to the number of 60,000. To complete these it was necessary to make 600,000 individual dressings, which required the services of 400 workers per day, six days per week. The responsibility was great, but it was accepted without complaint and the work finished and delivered on schedule.

Immediately thereafter, having established a reputation for efficiency, the Chapter was called upon for front-line packets for delivery during May, June, July and August to the total of 226,310, the preparation of which required 2,745,720 individual dressings.

And while all this was going on, the Chapter continued the making of bed jackets, pajamas, underwear, socks, operating masks, operating stockings, mattress covers—scores of articles for the comfort of their boys at the front.

Another of the important articles of production in local workrooms was comfort kits, of which 20,000 were made for distribution among Italian soldiers alone. To make these kits, and the housewives in them, the following supplies were consumed:

5,250 yards of khaki cloth 40,000 yards tape 288,000 fiber buttons, gray 144,000 white buttons 72,000 No. 2 needles 144,000 No. 1 safety pins 144,000 No. 2 safety pins 288,000 yards white cotton thread 288,000 yards gray thread

Each Italian housewife contained 12 gray fiber buttons; 6 white buttons; 3 No. 2 needles; 6 safety pins each, Nos. 1 and 2; 12 yards white cotton thread, and 12 yards greenish-gray thread.

From the record of the Pittsburgh Chapter it is learned that from July, 1917, to January, 1919, inclusive, the Chapter produced:

Surgical dressings valued at	\$6,077,374
Hospital supplies valued at	511,701
Hospital and refugee garments valued at	244,080
Knitted articles valued at	265,877

For the raw materials used in these commodities the Chapter expended \$1,198,420.

While summarzing the Red Cross work in Pittsburgh, it is proper to notice a branch of the organization's service about which comparatively little is known—and that is the Women's Motor Corps. This corps grew from a group of 12 young women who, in the early spring of 1917, banded themselves together to form a motor mechanics' class, intending, should the need arise, to offer themselves for service as drivers of motor cars. At the close of the war the corps had an enrollment of 197, the members coming from all parts of the district.

The corps proffered its services to the Pittsburgh Chapter in July, 1917, and in November of that year, after serving as a unit, it was united with the Transportation Department of the Chapter for the good of the service. Through the hands of this united Department passed much of the transportation of the Chapter throughout the district.

Not less than 40 pleasure cars of corps members were always available for service in addition to seven trucks which were in constant use. Besides these, the Chapter had on file a record of 200 pleasure cars and 600 trucks which their owners offered them for use when needed.

The women of the corps not only drove their own cars and trucks but paid operating expenses; and in addition to their work for the Chapter, these patriotic volunteers did transportation work for many war agencies, including the United War Work campaign, the Liberty Loan drives, the War Exposition, Near East Relief campaigns and Children's Welfare Bureau.

The original members of the Women's Motor Corps were Marie Ahl, Mrs. Flora F. Ahlberg, Catherine Armstrong, Mrs. Stella Blackwell, Olive M. Boschert, Madelyn Brady, Mrs. James S. Carr, Regina Frauenheim, Martha Fried, Vera Hamilton, Jean Kennedy, and Eda Strunz.

Not until December 1, 1917, did the corps begin keeping a record of work done, and not until January 1, 1920, did their record close, in which time the Women's Motor Corps alone rendered 14,636 hours of actual service, carried 1,342 tons of freight and transported for the Chapter and allied organizations 25,879 containers of various kinds and sizes. This service entailed not one cent's expense to the Chapter.

The canteen service established by the Pittsburgh Chapter was managed with the same efficiency displayed in other directions. Between February 1, 1919, and November 1, 1919, the following supplies were served to boys stationed in the district or passing through:

Coffee	19,083	gallons
Sandwiches	33,435	
Rolls, buns, cakes, etc	371,954	
Sliced ham	4,047	pounds
Butter	3,042	66
Jellies and jam	3,660	. 66
Doughnuts	128,391	
Pies	3,106	
Milk	1,110	quarts
Apples	20,869	
Oranges	23,759	
Chocolate	207,436	bars
Chewing gum	205,000	sticks
Cigarettes	2,356,932	
Matches	258,000	books

From May 1, 1917, to December 31, 1920, the Pittsburgh Chapter of the American Red Cross dispensed for relief in the families of men at the front, because of sickness, poverty, or family adversity, over \$310,000. Much of this money was considered as loans, and has since been repaid by those who so badly needed it in a time of stress.

Other services rendered consisted of providing employment, arranging for medical or institutional care, legal aid, dental treatment, providing food, fuel, etc., looking after government allotments, compensation and all manner of things to the number of 312,000 cases.

The after-care department of the Chapter met over 5,500 of the sick and wounded men of Allegheny County and worked ceaselessly to make comfortable and educate those unfortunates who had marched away so valiantly only to return maimed for life. One case alone required 585 units of service, including letters and telegrams, visits and interviews, telephone calls, medical and legal service, etc.

Hospital service throughout the war laid a heavy burden on the local Chapter, but the workers made no complaint even when the head of a local institution called on them for immediate delivery of 200 bathrobes, 200

helmets, 100 sweaters, 300 pairs of bed-slippers, 400 woolen socks, and 400 flannel pajamas. This came during the terrible influenza epidemic and was equaled by the emergency demand made on a Sunday afternoon for 10 dozen woolen blankets, 25 dozen cotton blankets, 100 dozen sheets, 25 dozen pillow cases, 20 dozen towels, 2 gross washcloths, 300 bath towels, barrels of old muslin, 100 surgical aprons, 12 dozen suits of pajamas, 300 hospital gowns, 12 dozen ice-cap covers and same quantity of covers for hot-water bottles, 1,000 face masks, 6 dozen bathrobes, 300 slings, 5 dozen hot-water bottles, 5 dozen ice caps, 3,000 paper napkins, 300 paper tray covers, and 30 pneumonia jackets.

By the next evening all that had to be purchased had been secured and delivered and workers were busy manufacturing the remainder for immediate delivery.

Red Cross women, serving as volunteers, cared for more than 12,000 influenza cases in homes, and the number of cases cared for in hospitals was about 3,000.

The influenza committee of the Chapter's nursing service sent to the emergency hospitals 70 graduate nurses, 40 practical nurses, and 172 aids and helpers.

One of the first volunteers after the Chapter issued a call for trained or untrained volunteers was a young colored woman who said, in reply to an inquiry, that she would do any kind of work. She said that she did not want pay—she was a volunteer. She was reminded that it would be dangerous to go into homes where the epidemic prevailed, and instantly she replied with spirit: "Well, my husband is serving as a volunteer in far more danger in France. I guess I can volunteer for this smaller danger here!" It was that spirit that filled the entire membership of the Pittsburgh Chapter and enabled the workers to bear up under the tremendous strain.

In the campaigns to raise money people from all walks of life vied with one another to make a good showing. Professional men spoke to crowds in churches and on street corners; Red Cross workers in uniform visited the homes; Boy Scouts, the Junior Red Cross (mentioned elsewhere), and housewives distributed literature and collected money, and office and factory workers gave liberally of their pay. The workers in one office gave four and one-half days of their pay, while many business houses and industries gave dollar for dollar with their employees.

A carload of strawberries was donated and auctioned off in the produce yards, netting the fund \$2,500; and a crate of cantaloupes brought \$5 for each cantaloupe.

About 200 copies of Harrison Fisher's poster entitled *The Appeal* were sold for \$5 and upward each instead of being promiscuously displayed. One of these, autographed by the artist, was auctioned off for \$1,600.

Subscription

Professional golfers staged a game to raise money for the fund, and newsboys gave the earnings of one day.

Members of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh gave paintings which sold for \$7,000, and school children gladly gave pennies that represented riches to them. Pittsburgh's monetary contribution to the war was as follows:

## LIBERTY BONDS

Quota

First Liberty Loan	\$ 59,300,000	\$ 84,258,300
Second Liberty Loan	85,159,900	146,030,400
Third Liberty Loan	81,612,750	95,094,650
Fourth Liberty Loan	163,452,750	178,599,050
Fifth Liberty Loan	117,195,350	121,447,200
Total	\$506,720,750	\$625,429,600
Excess over quota		,
Red C	"noon	
KED C	CKUSS	
First Campaign, 1917	\$ 3,69	4,114.72
Second Campaign, 1918	5,49	0,940.18
Membership and Donations		9,710.32
Total	\$10,19	4,765.22
Various War 1	RELIEF WORKS	
Y. M. C. A., 1917	\$ 5,80	0,000.00
United War Fund, 1918	5,60	0,000.00
Knights of Columbus, 1918	45	0,000.00
War Camp Community Service, 1917		3,000.00
Salvation Army, 1917		5,000.00
Salvation Army, Membership		0,000.00

itingnis of Columbus, 1910	450,000.00
War Camp Community Service, 1917	83,000.00
Salvation Army, 1917	86,000.00
Salvation Army, Membership	90,000.00
Miscellaneous relief campaigns for Belgians,	
French Orphans, the Armenians, Syrians,	
Poles, Jugo-Slavs, Serbian Relief, Jewish Wel-	
fare, Czecho-Slovaks, Khaki Bibles, Smileage	
Books, Hospital Endowments, Tobacco Fund,	
etc.	1,800,000.00
Total	\$13,909,000.00
GRAND TOTAL ALL RELIEF WORK AND GOV-	

Mention must be made of still another branch of service of the Pittsburgh Chapter, which was the organization of hospital units. The agitation for a

Red Cross Base Hospital in Pittsburgh was begun early in the history of the Chapter, and the teaching staff of the University of Pittsburgh manifested its interest in such a movement.

Upon authorization from the Surgeon General at Washington the local unit came into being, and almost the entire medical and surgical personnel of the University enrolled, for which reason the unit was known as the University of Pittsburgh Base Hospital Unit. Early in 1917 the organization of the staff was completed, and it was definitely decided that the Pittsburgh Chapter of the American Red Cross would sustain the hospital although it had previously been understood that the University would do so.

The Chapter was notified by the Department of Military Relief that it would be well for the local organization to equip the personnel of the unit with uniforms, shoes, and underwear, inasmuch as the last Base Hospital equipped by the Quartermaster's Department had been a sorry-looking sight. This was done, and the unit immediately provided with blankets, shelter tents, and comfort kits in addition to the articles needed.

Therefore, when the call to service came in August, 1917, the unit was prepared to go to the front equipped as no other unit had been.

The unit embarked on the Red Star steamship Lapland in New York City on September 27, 1917, and arrived at Liverpool on October 9th, where the unit rested until October 16th before continuing to France. The Pittsburghers arrived at their destination—Angers—on October 19th and remained at Mongazon Seminary, the location assigned to them, until the end of the war.

The record of the unit's activities makes a bright page in the history of the war, and those who desire details should consult the history of the Pittsburgh Chapter, American Red Cross, which was prepared by that organization.

In September, 1917, a suggestion was made from national headquarters of the American Red Cross for the formation of a junior organization; and in October the Pittsburgh Chapter secured the willing and hearty coöperation of the Pittsburgh Board of Public Education, the Allegheny County public schools, the parochial schools, and the independent school boards throughout the county, and almost immediately the preparatory schools and business schools joined the others in a program that brought plans for enrollment to completion by the middle of November.

The local newspapers gave the project much publicity and prominent citizens gave unreservedly of their time in speaking to public gatherings throughout the district, with the result that by Christmas 90,000 boys and girls in the county were enrolled.

It is recorded that in the City of Pittsburgh the public schools were enrolled 100 per cent, and although official figures are not available covering private and parochial schools it is known that their record was just as good.

In the rural schools work was carried on with more difficulty than elsewhere, but by March, 1918, these schools were enrolled 80 per cent.

Without these enthusiastic and patriotic young citizens the work of the Pittsburgh Chapter would have dragged noticeably, for the Chapter depended on the Juniors to a great extent in the distribution of all kinds of literature, the sale of War Saving Stamps, solicitation for membership in the Chapter, the operation of war gardens, etc.

The Junior members took great delight in their achievements and glowed with pride when they raised funds and provided the Chapter with two trucks for transportation purposes.

Some of the notable results of the Junior work were the manufacture of 141,882 articles by the girls; the production of thousands of bedside tables and refugee chairs by the boys; the collection of 50,000 books for the soldiers; the adoption of 114 French orphans; the collection of \$42,000 for an agriculture school in France; the placing of 600 boys on farms to assist during the summer, and the production of food supplies from war gardens in vacant lots valued at \$41,789 in one year.

The Junior Red Cross in Pittsburgh was not organized for service at the time of the first and second Liberty Loan campaigns; but during the third and fourth campaigns they served valiantly as gleaners at the close of the great drives for subscriptions; and notwithstanding the fact that all the greater prospects had already been solicited repeatedly, the youngsters secured \$2,-109,950 in subscriptions for the third loan and \$3,686,700 for the fourth loan. This should be remembered to their glory to the end of Pittsburgh's days.

It would be unfair to tens of thousands if mention of any names were made here in connection with the work of the Pittsburgh Chapter, for it is manifestly impossible to mention them all. If one is mentioned, all should be, inasmuch as the service of each was equal to that of the rest according to the ability and opportunity of the individual; and those who seek names are referred again to the history of the Chapter which has already been mentioned.

As the war was waged month after month, heartsick homefolks set on foot a movement for the observance of a Remembrance Day, at which time they could gather in a great throng for a public manifestation of their feelings. The date set was September 29, 1918, and at the appointed time the streets of the city were filled with people whose faces were turned toward Forbes Field, where the services were to be held. At Forbes Field there was an unparalleled demonstration.

One of the heroes of the occasion was Captain Walter Flannery, a Pittsburgh youth, who was given a wild ovation. Captain Flannery had won the admiration of the nation by twice swimming the River Marne,

during the second battle of the Marne, and under German fire rescuing a wounded French soldier who had been captured by the enemy but had escaped and crept to the water's edge. For this feat of bravery France awarded him the Croix de Guerre.

Pittsburgh rejoiced that the war was over; but she did not forget the boys who would never come home again, and in remembrance of those who lost their lives and in honor of those who returned, scores of memorials of various kinds were erected. Some are elaborate statues, while others are simple tablets. A complete record of these memorials is not available, but such as are listed are named below:

Three tablets, at Belmar School, Lang Avenue and Hermitage Street, by Service Star Legion. These commemorate especially boys of the district—James Young, Fifteenth Engineers, died at Is-sur-Tille, France, August 4, 1918; Frank Kenneth Haid, Battery E, One Hundred and Seventh Field Artillery, killed at Villette, France, September 8, 1918, and Lester Rohe, Company C, One Hundred and Ninth Infantry, missing in action, Chateau Thierry. Dedicated July 11, 1920.

Tablet, school house, East Carnegie, honoring 86 soldiers and sailors.

Four bronze tablets, Carnegie Library, Homewood, for 1,400 men and women of the Thirteenth Ward. Dedicated May 30, 1920.

Bronze group by Frank Vittor, Peabody High School, honoring 600 alumni in the war. Dedicated March, 1923. The students raised a fund of \$10,000 to pay for the memorial, one face of which contains a figure of a returned hero being crowned by Fame, while Grief stands near sorrowing for the lost. The group is 10 feet high with a four-foot marble base.

Tablet designed by Stanley L. Roush, on playground at Warrington Avenue and Estrella Street. Dedicated November 28, 1918, honoring 1,134 boys of that section of Pittsburgh.

Tablet at Craft Place, dedicated November 14, 1918, in honor of soldiers and sailors from Craft Avenue district.

Tablet in Federal Building, dedicated November 23, 1918, by postal employees in memory of 76 fellow-workers in the army.

Honor-roll Pergola in Wilkinsburg, constructed of sandstone and glass with 70-foot flagstaff. Dedicated November 23, 1918.

Tablet in Fifth Avenue High School honoring alumni.

Tablet and Victory Window in Shadyside Presbyterian Church dedicated October 20, 1920, in honor of 100 members of the church.

Tablet in Headquarters of National Slovak Society of America, Hooper and Ivanhoe Streets.

Tablet in Crafton High School, honoring 303 Crafton soldiers.

Tablet in quarters of Engine Company No. 61, Homestead and Commercial Streets, honoring 40 soldiers.

Tablet on Sheraden Bank, Sheraden.

Tablet, East Liberty Presbyterian Church, dedicated April 19, 1919.

Bronze statue of Doughboy in park, Edgewood, dedicated November, 1922.

Monument on Herron Hill in honor of 1,269 men of Fifth Ward, dedicated May 28, 1922, by Herron Hill Honor Roll Association.

Bronze monument by Frank Vittor, placed in Frick Park, Homestead, by local Chamber of Commerce.

Five trees planted at The Point by Woman's Club in May, 1919.

Six memorial oak trees planted in Columbus Grove, Schenley Park, by students of Fifth Avenue High School in honor of six boys of the school who died in service.

Statue of Doughboy, by Allen G. Newman, placed at "The Fork of the Roads," Penn Avenue and Butler Streets, in honor of men of the Sixth Ward.

Statue of Doughboy placed on Russellwood Avenue, McKees Rocks.

Statue of Warrior placed at Brighton Road and Shadeland Avenue by the War Aid Society of the Twenty-seventh Ward, in honor of soldiers of that ward.

Bronze figure of Woman, representing Victory and Purity, placed in Lawrence Recreation Park, Forty-sixth and Butler Streets, by Ninth Ward Soldiers and Sailors Welfare Association.

Bronze tablet at South Main and Carson Streets.

Granite shaft with plaques bearing insignia of various branches of service, in West End Park.

Monument placed in Library Park, Homestead, by citizens of Munhall in honor of their men. Dedicated November 10, 1920.

Four huge, bronze sphinxes, by Giuseppe Moretti, placed at entrance to Syria Mosque in memory of Syria Shriners in service.

Brick and stone monument at Meadville and Catoma Streets, Fineview. Built by the citizens themselves in honor of their boys in service. Dedicated November 9, 1918.

Seven memorial oak trees near Neptune Fountain, Schenley Park, by citizens of East Liberty in memory of seven East Liberty boys lost in the war. Planted May 9, 1920.

Forty-six memorial trees planted by Service Star Legion on hill overlooking Neptune Fountain, Schenley Park. May 27, 1920.

Two memorial windows and bronze tablet in St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Sewickley, in honor of soldiers of the parish. Dedicated July 10, 1921.

Bronze Doughboy placed in Balph Park, Bellevue, by citizens. Designed by Giuseppe Moretti. Dedicated November, 1921.

Memorial building erected at St. Wendelin Roman Catholic Church in honor of boys of the parish in service. Dedicated October 23, 1921.

Tablet near lily pond, Schenley Park, dedicated by Service Star Legion, October 3, 1929.

Bronze statue of Victory, by Frank Vittor, placed at Braddock. Dedicated November 5, 1922.

Tablet placed at Borough School, Ingram, and dedicated December 11, 1921.

Granite column dedicated at Spring Garden School, October 21, 1921.

Monument dedicated at Hampshire and Beechview Avenues, October 24, 1921.

Granite shaft dedicated at Eighth Avenue and Sarah Street, West Homestead, August 8, 1922.

Tablet on Capt. Alfred E. Hunt Armory, Emerson Street, dedicated by Ladies' Auxiliary of Veterans' Association June 26, 1921, in honor of 48 members of the Association who lost their lives in the war. This is the first tablet ever placed on a state armory, this being done by special permission of the Adjutant General's Department.

Statue in honor of members from Allegheny County Medical Society who served. Dedicated Thanksgiving Day morning, 1922.

Replica of monument erected by City of Nancy, France, in honor of first three American soldiers killed at the front. One of these was Thomas Enright, a Pittsburgh boy. The City of Nancy sent to Pittsburgh a replica of the monument, carved from the same stone used for the original, and the replica is in St. Mary's Cemetery, Penn Avenue and Forty-fifth Street.

Boulevard of Allies—a magnificent highway extending three miles from the business section to the Oakland residential section, dedicated by the City of Pittsburgh to her boys who served in the war.

The Pittsburgh boys of the famous old Eighteenth—later the One Hundred Eleventh Infanty—went into service on April 13, 1917, just six days after the United States declared war on Germany and was assigned to guard duty on the railroads, locks and dams, and the munition plants in Western Pennsylvania, with regimental headquarters at Ridgeway.

Being relieved of guard duty in August the regiment assembled under canvas in Schenley Park, Pittsburgh, where the men remained until their departure for Camp Hancock in September.

The boys left Camp Hancock for Camp Upton, Long Island, on April 28th and 29th, 1918, and on May 5th at 2 P.M. they sailed for England on the Olympic, landing at Southampton at 2 P.M. on May 13th, taking train at once for Dover. At 2:45 P.M. May 14th they landed in Calais. After a few days they marched towards the front and were stationed in British area for further training.

It was at that time that Lieut. Col. A. Stephenson, in command of the Sixteenth Battalion Royal Scots, stated in his report:

"I have never seen a better outfit than the One Hundred Eleventh United States Infantry. They have been well trained in the States, and another week's training will see them ready to go into some quiet sector for training in trench warfare.\* \* \* The discipline is excellent and complaints from the civilian population have been few in number and minor in character."

While in that area all supplies were drawn from British sources and were very scant. A Pittsburgher commented to his commander that he "would like to get his head in a Camp Hancock garbage can for 30 minutes and get a square meal."

Transfer to French area began during the first week of June. On June 29th, on receiving unexpected orders, two platoons were assigned to join the French forces for an attack on Hill 204 on July 1st.

Two Pittsburgh boys had the honor of leading these platoons—First Lieut. Cedric C. Benz and First Lieut. John H. Shenkel. Of the 116 men of these platoons who entered the battle, nine were killed on the field, another died the next day, and 30 were wounded. Both platoon commanders were decorated with the Croix de Guerre and each later received the Distinguished Service Cross. Some of the enlisted men also received the D. S. C. and each platoon, as a unit, was awarded the Croix de Guerre.

From that date the One Hundred Eleventh Infantry saw almost continuous service in various major engagements.

September 10th to 12th, 1918, the local boys rested in bivouac at Bois de la Bouloy.

Up to that date about one-half the strength of the regiment had been lost in action. The casualties during actions on the Vesle had been 14 officers and 469 enlisted men killed, and 18 officers and 956 enlisted men wounded, and many were lost in the fifth German offensive, July 14th to 27th.

Before marching to the front again replacements in the ranks were made to bring the regiment up to nearly its original numbers.

During the terrible action in the Argonne the regiment's casualties were 4 officers and 128 enlisted men killed, and 11 officers and 563 enlisted men wounded.

On April 11, 1919, the One Hundred Eleventh Infantry was honored by the awarding of the following operations ribbons for the regimental colors:

Chateau-Thierry sector—July 7-14, 1918.

The Champagne-Marne defensive—July 15-18, 1918.

The Aisne-Marne offensive—July 18 to August 6, 1918.

The Fismes sector—August 7 to September 3, 1918.

The Oise-Aisne offensive—September 4-7, 1918.

The Meuse-Argonne offensive—September 26 to October 9, 1918. The Thiacourt sector, Toul—October 16 to November 11, 1918.

The men of the One Hundred Eleventh Infantry sailed for home on the U.S.S. Minnesota (April 16, 1919) and the U.S.S. Kroonland (April 17th) and landed on April 28th and 29th, proceeding to Camp Dix, New Jersey.

The officers of the Eighteenth Infantry (later One Hundred and Eleventh Infantry) at the beginning of the war were:

Col. Edward L. Kearns Lieut. Col. Bertram L. Succop Major John K. Clement Major Elmer P. Kuhn Major Alan G. Donnely First Lieut. Nicholas J. Sepp First Lieut. Lyle E. Van Vleck First Lieut, Ewling L. Rafferty First Lieut, and Chaplain Michael

Headquarters Company Capt. William W. Gill

Machine Gun Company

W. Keith

Capt. Robt. Pollock First Lieut. Albert W. Miller Sec. Lieut. Daniel W. Brooks

Sec. Lieut. John W. Buchanan

Supply Company

Capt. James L. Costello Sec. Lieut. William S. Tresser

assigned from Medical Corps

Maj. Edward M. Iland First Lieut. Charles S. Hendricks

First Lieut. Alvin E. Bulger

Company A

Capt. James A. Williams First Lieut, Mahon S. MacDonald Sec. Lieut. Cedric C. Benz

Company B

Capt. Elmer K. Rupp First Lieut. William H. Allen, Jr.

Sec. Lieut. Godfrey M. Wyke

Company C

Capt. Charles E. Gibson

First Lieut. Michael D. Baumer Sec. Lieut Jay W. Fleming

Company D

Capt. Peter S. Revegno

First Lieut. Edwey Z. Wainwright,

Sec. Lieut. Yates D. Fetterman

Company E

Capt. William R. Dunlap First Lieut. Roy H. Uhlinger Sec. Lieut. Ralph S. Busch

Company F

Capt. John M. Clarke First Lieut, Frank C. Horner Sec. Lieut. Lawrence J. Bowman

Company G

Capt. Charles Johnston First Lieut. John S. Anderson Sec. Lieut, Robert S. Cain

Company H

Capt. Frank A. McKenry First Lieut, Elmer A. Keyser Sec. Lieut, William M. Heimann

Company I

Capt. George L. Ayres First Lieut. John I. Milligan Sec. Lieut. Harry E. Leonard

Company K

Capt. James L. Wehn

First Lieut. Ottmann W. Freeborn

Company L

Capt. Sylvester Scovel First Lieut. Robert M. Keogh Sec. Lieut. John J. Sullivan

Company M

Capt. Orville R. Thompson First Lieut. George F. Poffenberger Sec. Lieut. Clyde M. Davis

Three women from Allegheny County were awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. These women were: Hannah J. Patterson, for devoted



LAKE ELIZABETH, WEST PARK, NORTH SIDE



A PITTSBURGH COUNTRY HOUSE AT SEWICKLEY HEIGHTS



service in the work of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense; Marie B. Rhodes (now Mrs. Clarence Cash), for invaluable service rendered the army as chief of the nurses' equipment bureau of the military department, American Red Cross, in Paris; and Blanche S. Rulon, for qualities of leadership and organizing ability of the highest order displayed while chief nurse of Base Hospital No. 27 at Angers, France, and later as assistant to the director of the Nursing Service, A.E.F. at Tours, France.

The following men of the One Hundred and Eleventh Infantry were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross:

Acheson, William Chalmers Adaski, Jiozef Andrea, Frank E. Bann, Edward Benz, Cedric Charles, who also received the Croix de Guerre with Palm Blume, Ferdinand F. Booth, James O. Botsford, Norman L. Brennan, Q. F. Brereton, Lewis H. Cain, Robert S. Caldwell, George S. Carter, Franklin W. Cavanaugh, Thomas J. Craig, William H. Cronin, Raymond P. Dixon, John R. Dravo, Charles A. Dunlap, Jay Egler, Frederick A. Eromo, Gilimo Farmer, Dr. William R. Finnegan, Robert Fiorentino, Anthony Fitzgerald, Robert J. Flannery, Walter R. Frazier, Walter D. Free, George M. Fries, George J. Gest, Sydney G. Guenther, Alois J. Harris, Job R. Hazlett, Clark S.

Imhof, Harry E.

Inks, Charles L.

Kahle, Clarence C. Kanopsky, Frank Kaperzynski, Joe Kennedy, John J. Klier, George J. Lambing, Floyd C. Layer, John L. Levenson, Abe MacBeth, Edwin McClemens, Frederick W. McSweeney, Daniel S. Mates, Harry Maurer, Philip Melfi, Jerry Monula, Nick Murray, Charles I. Newcomer, Francis K. Norris, Elmer C. Ord, Ralph Edward Pacchiasotti, Ameda Pamaranski, John Parkin, Harry D. Patterson, Alfred B., Jr. Patterson, Frederick W. McL. Pedersen, Ingvald O. Potter, Ernst R. Prager, Benjamin Puchajda, Edward Reiter, Charles Rowbottom, Raymond G. Scott, John S. Shallenberger, Hugh D., Jr. Shenkel, John H., who also received Croix de Guerre with Palm Stevenson. Jens L. Stewart, Clarence L. Thaw, William









